

HAIL GAIN

(THE STRUGGLE)

Organ of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party



◦ THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE S.R.S.P.

- the organisational structure of the S.R.S.P.
- the immediate tasks of the S.R.S.P.
- revolutionary changes in somali education

Struggle to
learn in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAILGAIN

published monthly by the
CENTRAL COMMITTEE
of the **SOMALI REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY**

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Somalia

27 = shillings (Somali) per issue,
407 = shillings per year, post included.

Arab World and East Africa

\$ 12.00 per year, airmail post included.
(US dollars).

South Central and West Africa

\$ 17.00 per year, airmail post included.

Asia

\$ 20.00 per year, airmail post included.

Europe

\$ 25.00 per year, airmail post included.

America (North and (South)

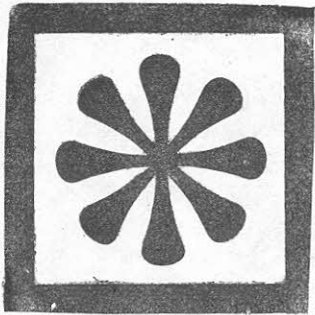
\$ 50.00 per year, airmail post included.

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HALGAN

Official Organ of the S.R.S.P. Year One, No. 9 July 1977.
 Price 2Sh. Published Monthly in Somali, Arabic and English.
 People's Hall P. O. Box 1204 Telephone 720
 Room No. 112 Mogadishu, SDR Ext. 51 and 74



EDITORIAL NOTES

THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOMALI REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

July 1st, 1977, marks the First Anniversary of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party. The celebration of this historical event coincides with the seventeenth anniversary of the independence and unification of former British and Italian colonized territories. The independence of the former French Somaliland on June 27th gives this year's celebration greater meaning and significance.

On October 21st, 1969, the Somali Armed Forces led by Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre spearheaded a popular bloodless revolution which overthrew the previous neo-colonial regime. From the very beginning, it became obvious that the so-called military coup in Somali was radically different from similar events taking place in Africa and elsewhere. The Somali Revolutionary Government began to pursue policies that were geared towards drastic socio-economic transformation. Nationalisation and other measures were pursued which aimed to create a public sector oriented economy. Radical changes were introduced in education particularly, both in formal schooling and mass education (literacy) made possible by the adoption of a script for the Somali language in October 1972. Crash-programmes and various self-help projects were launched.

Politically, the Revolutionary Government began to organise and politically educate Somalia's revolutionary masses. The adoption of Scientific Socialism as the guiding ideology provided principles, methods and a framework for such tasks. The need for a party to guide the Revolution was felt from the very beginnings, but the groundwork had to be laid carefully until it led to the birth of the SRSP a year ago.

The SRSP is a vanguard Party guided by the principles of democratic centralism. At the Founding Congress, the First Central Committee of the SRSP was elected. Among the first tasks of the SRSP were those connected with laying out the structures and functions of the various CC Bureaus. This was carried out simultaneously with the tasks connected with laying out the regional and district branches of the SRSP. These, in turn, led to the need to overhaul the previous system of regional and local administration.

Meanwhile, the SRSP has organised various courses and training programmes for its member and candidates at various levels. Many of these seminars were held in Somalia, in Mogadishu and in the

regions. The political Science Institute at Halane has been upgraded and given the crucial role of the national centre for training Party cadres. Friendly Socialist countries participated in the general educational programme by inviting SRSP delegations to visit their countries. So far, SRSP delegations have made study-tours of the following countries: the Soviet Union (about different groups have visited the USSR up to now), the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and the Peoples Republic of China. In future, other SRSP delegations are expected to visit Bulgaria (at least two different groups), Cuba, Korea etc.

The SRSP has had numerous international functions and contacts. All these were pursued in order to fulfill the objectives of the SRSP Programme calling for the need to increase relations with socialist countries, with the national liberation movements and with the working-class movement in the capitalist states.

The third ordinary session of the First Central Committee of the SRSP was crucial in several respects. It passed important resolutions pertaining to various socio-economic tasks. It began preparations aimed at Party directed Economic planning. It also passed resolutions aimed at the re-organisation of Somalia's social organisations.

Accordingly, a Founding Congress was held which led to the birth of the Somali Women Democratic Organisation on March 8th, the General Federation of Somali Trade Unions on 1st May and on May 15th we witnessed the establishment of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union? These organisations are currently laying out their national and local structures. In carrying out such tasks, they are indeed helping the SRSP to deepen its roots among the masses.

All such structural changes have gone hand in hand with new levels of cultural awareness. New songs, poems and plays have appeared about the necessary roles of a vanguard Party and social organisations. Qualitatively newer perspectives are beginning to emerge. The Party is the guarantee of the historical continuity of the Revolution. The Secretary-general of the CC of the SRSP, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre issued several important directives aimed at highlighting the leading role of the SRSP in all aspects of Somali political, administrative, economic, social and cultural life.

The Party is only one year old, it still has to grow up and mature. Several tasks remain to be done. Party cells have just been laid out, they need more time to be able to function normally. The systematization and expansion of Scientific Socialist education within the SDR has a long way to go. Beginning in October 1976, HALGAN began to appear as the official organ of the CC of the SRSP. The tasks aimed at distributing it and using it systematically in Party lessons has just begun. The same thing can be said on just about every task undertaken by the SRSP in its first year.

The SRSP is a living organ and therefore it needs to inhale oxygen and to exhale carbon dioxide. In the struggles ahead, the SRSP will indeed need the energy and commitment of new revolutionary members, it will also need to invoice its members in the process of the revolutionary construction of a new society.

The SRSP in guiding the SDR continues to pursue the peaceful policies initiated since 1969. The SRSP wishes to see peace and good neighbourly relations prevail all over the world and specially around the Horn of Africa. Genuine peace results from justice. All forms of exploitation and national appression must be eliminated in order to guarantee peace and progress. That is why the SRSP strongly endorses the struggle of the Palestine people denied of their fundamental rights, the struggle of the Arab people against Zionist Israel which occupies Arab territories, the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. That is why the SRSP condemns the colonial oppression imposed on Somali people and strives for the peaceful reunification of the motherland brutally divided by imperialism. The SRSP is totally opposed to imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Apartheid, racism, Zionism. It strongly supports the struggle for peace and progress, for socialism.



JIBUTI BECOMES INDEPENDENT

Rapid decolonization is one of the main features of our epoch. After more than a century of political struggle, the last French Colony in the African continent-Jibuti-won its independence on 27th June 1977.

Thinly peopled, about a quarter of a million with limited resources, the tiny country occupies a very strategic position at the Southern gate of the Red sea, and that has been the main reason behind France's tenacious grip over the small territory for such a long period.

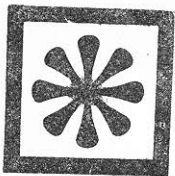
The country's accession to independence has been relatively smooth and steady. In their pursuit of liberation, the people of Jibuti were supported by such august bodies like the U.N.O., the OAU, the Arab League, the non-aligned countries and the international democratic organizations. Needless to say that substantial support by the SDR has been a major contribution to the liberation process of that country.

France leaves the country poor and backward in every aspect but with the spirit displayed by the leaders of the country to solve their differences and foster unity. It is hoped that they would be able to overcome the problems of under-development, counting primarily on their own efforts and all friendly assistance.

The Young republic is within stone's throw from Bab-el-mandab, the Southern entrance of the Red sea. Its geopolitical position attracts international attention. This is likely to jeopardize the new state's endeavour to a free and genuine development but the people of Jibuti are firmly determined to overcome all these difficulties and realize their social and economic objectives.

A policy of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, respect of the internal affairs of other states, cooperation and good neighbourliness followed by the new republic will definitely frustrate a lot of the treacherous schemes imperialism has in store for the whole Red sea area.

The SDR rightly considers the independence attained by Jibuti a positive re-inforcement to its own independence and heartily congratulates all the Somali people and the inhabitants of Jibuti on this Jubilant occasion and assures its sister republic once again of its unreserved support in the consolidation of the political independence and economic development of the emergent state.



17 YEARS OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

Under the scorching heat of the summer sun, the people of the Somali Democratic Republic celebrated on the 1st July 1977, the 17th anniversary of its national independence and unification.

The 1st of July always brings back to memory the long thorny path travelled by the Somali liberation movement, the difficult condition, the bitter struggles the Somali people waged *against* the colonial powers. It also recalls to memory how the oppressed and exploited Somali masses had been treacherously betrayed by those selfish and greedy elements whom they threw up in to the first nine years of our formal independence.

The experiences of those dark years have nurtured the Revolutionary favour of the popular masses; disclosed the dangerous Neo-colonialist policy athered to by the ruing body and there had been an intensification of the struggle against the agents of imperialism for a real social change that would improve the lot of the toiling masses.

The unreleting struggle by the working people, was wrowned by the 21st October Revolution which overthrew the old defunct order and geared the people's toil, energy and talents towards the consolidation of their independence, economic and cultural advance. A great deal have been achieved ever since and the 1st July is always a witness to new success and glaring victories attained by the Revolutionary republic.

The nationalisation of the major foreign enterprises, the statalisation of trade, the cooperation of agriculture, the writing of the Somali Language and its adoption as the official education and administrative media, the establishment of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party and the mass organisations, there are but a few of the gains to which the post-revolutionary 1st July bear witness to.

However, greater tasks still lie ahead. The radical transformation of the society; the complete elimination of unemployment, disease and illiteracy still remains an arduous task that entail patience, hard work comfled with clarity of vision.

We are celebrating our 17th anniversary of national independence at cheking the revolutionary march in the area. The imperialist forces and some irrational neighbouring countries are both conniving against the realisation of peace and mutual understanding in the area.

In this happy occasion therefore let us all rally behind the Party, consolidate the unity of the democratic forces, escalate our solidarity with our natural allies, beaware of all schemes detrimental to the developmente of our revolution, and, then we can rest assured that all diabolic plots will meet nothing but utter failure and disappointment.

Now that we are celebrating the 17th anniversary of the national independence, we are quite confident and are very much optimistic about the inevitability of the liberation of the Somali territories still under colonial yoke. Naturally, the pursuance of this objective require us to consolidate our unity and to stand in one front against all challenges being encountered in this direction.

Eritrea: the Struggle Continues

The fact that Eritrea and its struggle for independence from Ethiopian rule have been much in the news during the past few years, and especially so recently, is an illustration of the fact that the Eritrean liberation struggle has entered a decisive phase.

The last decades of the nineteenth century saw the carving up of the African continent by European imperialist powers. Italy, joining the hectic scramble for Africa rather late, managed to carve up Libya, Eritrea and what became Italian Somaliland. Italy penetrated Eritrea in the 1880's and established a formal colony in 1890.

The history of Eritrea is rather like the history of the part of Somalia colonized by Italy. Both countries experienced a phase of early Italian colonial rule which came to be abruptly intensified by fascist

Italy's military imperialist activities. Both countries experienced a brief period of British rule after the Italian fascist defeat in 1941.

Eritrea became a historically definite community due to its history of confrontation and resistance to colonial adversaries: Italy (prior to 1941), England (during the 1940's), and presently Ethiopia.

Following the Italian defeat, international imperialist forces favoured Ethiopia's claim to Eritrea: US imperialists led the rest because they planned to build a crucial military base (Kagnew) in Eritrea with Ethiopian support.

The moves to place Eritrea under Ethiopian rule were opposed by all international progressive forces. At the time the USSR for instance strongly opposed such moves.

Ethiopia carried out a movement of sabotage, terror, massacre and assassination in Eritrea in order to foster its colonialist policies. The Eritrean coptic Church also proved to be a useful agent of this conspiracy against the fundamental rights of the Eritrean people.

As early as 1949, certain progressive elements among the Eritrean patriots began to discuss the possibility of forming an Eritrean liberation front. However, popular opinion seemed to favour granting the United Nations' solution a chance. The materialisation of a liberation front was thus postponed.

It did not take long to convince Eritreans that the UN mandate and its proposed federal parliamentary solution had failed. Eritreans saw their country gradually losing its sovereignty. Eritrean domination also resulted in the deterioration of the economic and social situation. The regime of Haile Sal'assie abrogated Eritrea's UN decreed autonomy. For decades it brutally oppressed and exploited the Eritrean people.

For every action, there is a reaction, for every form of oppression there is a struggle against it, a struggle for liberation. An urban guerrilla force, the Eritrean liberation movement was established in 1959. Then came September 1961 when the Eritrean Liberation Front was established. That marked the commencement of the armed phase of the Eritrean liberation struggle. In waging this struggle, the ELF is complimented by another organisation born later, the popular liberation front (PLF). In waging this bitter struggle, these organisations

have appeared the ELF-RC, the PLF and ELF-PLF. Despite frequent and some times bloody conflicts, the various organisations have often co-ordinated, as they are doing presently, their liberation activities against Ethiopian forces.

For 16 years, the people of Eritrea have borne arms in the struggle for independence. Is their a better testimony to their historical right for self-determination? The military struggle waged by the Eritrean people have been outstanding. Nevertheless, the profundity of the Eritrean liberation movement lies in the transformations it has caused on all aspects of Eritrean society. While struggling against Ethiopian domination, Eritreans have been able to transcend decadent and archaic traditions, to liberate men and women, to initiate agrarian reforms and new attitudes towards labour and production. While fighting for its national independence, Eritrea has been able to wage a democratic revolution that is paving the path to a people's republic.

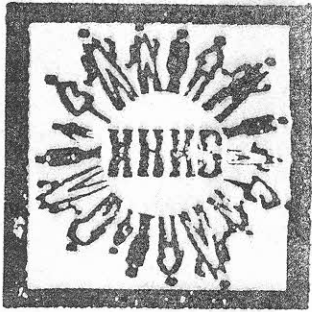
This difficult struggle waged by the Eritrean people has a significant effect on the masses in Ethiopia in their struggle against their exploiters. Instead of recognising the rights of the Eritrean people and seeking a political solution to the problem, the new regime in Addis Abeba is trying to wage an all-out holy war against the Eritrean people. Apart from relying on professional soldiers and mercenaries, the new regime tries to instil rabid forms of chauvinism among the poor peasants in Ethiopia. It gathers poor peasants and other unemployed groups, provided them with arms and marches them off to die in Eritrea for the sake of a imperialist conception of «sacred boundaries».

A nation that oppresses other nations cannot itself be free. Socialist rhetorics notwithstanding, the new regime in Ethiopia seeks to continue the oppressive policies of former regimes. All attempts to change the forms but not the substance of oppression and exploitation are bound to fail.

The Eritrean struggle has lasted 16 years and yet it seems able to last another 16 years or whatever time it takes to eliminate national and social oppression.

The Eritrean revolution symbolizes a national and class struggle against an African ruling class. Accordingly it is bound to have a far reaching impact on future revolutions in Africa and most of the Third World.

PARTY LIFE



TOWARDS THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE PARTY:

THE PROCESSES OF FORMATION OF THE SRSP AND THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

By Omer Salad Elmi

Member of the CC of the SRSP

1. BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

The history of the liberation struggle of the Somali Nation is a long one which dates back to early 16th century, the times of Ahmed Gurey's movement. After many ups-and-downs, the movement was once again revived by the dervishes and their hero, Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan. In this struggle, which went on from 1901 to 1921, the Somali Nation resolutely opposed the colonialists who conquered our country after the imperialistic Berlin Conference of 1884.

The struggle of the Dervish movement was a source of inspiration and encouragement for the subsequent birth of the political parties at the end of the Second World War following the defeat of the Fascism. These parties which fought for the liberation of the country were led by the Somali Youth League, which had been the vanguard for the liberation struggle from 1943 to 1960, when the country achieved its independence. The Somali Youth League had given the masses a sense of unity, patriotism and political maturity. The masses had reached a high degree of political consciousness whereby they had replaced their tribalistic outlook and selfish thinking by a spirit of unity and national cohesion.

In its programme, the SYL stated: «All Somalis are equal brothers, undivided by tribalism, creed or by religious sects.» The colonialist used to brand the young leaders of the Party as communists because it had failed to shatter their unity, to impede the party programme or to out-manoeuvre their tactics. However, it is not untrue that the leadership of that Party



had progressive ideas. Comrade Yassin Haji Osman, the leader of the League, was progressive and revolutionary man who had connections and consultations with the Mogadishu branch of the Italian Communist Party. The emblem of the SYL was a triangular leaf resting on a nascent crescent; this signifies the international emblem of socialism, (the hammer and the sickle), in a disguised form. The solid unity which the Somali masses reached under the leadership of the SYL, had made it possible that two of the five parts, into which the Colonialists divided the Somali nation, achieved their independence in 1960; as usual, the colonialists had handed over the power of the government to trained puppets who were serving their own interests as well as colonialist's ones.

Thus, the struggle and the aspirations of the masses were doomed to failure and despair. Seeking alliance with neo-colonialism, the regime began to practise the known colonial policy of «divide and rule», through the instrumentality of tribalism, bribery and all forms of corruption. That policy had brought about disappointment, disintegration, decline of nationalism and cut-throat competition for selfish interests. The socio-economic formation being at a pre-capitalist stage, that situation was deteriorated by the neo-colonial system. There was economic bankruptcy; if we put it in other words, the country had become an indebted captive in the hands of world imperialism. Salaries and ordinary expenditures could not be met and imperialism had great influence on the country, not to speak of development.

For that reason, there was no doubt that the country had become a helpless bondage, politically as well as culturally. Out of this disintegration and disillusionment, came an immense number of «Political and social» organisations. The number of these so-called organizations reached 88; actually they were organizations intended to sow the seeds of discord among the people and to halt the people's struggle for total independence and national development, so that the interests of neo-colonialism and imperialism could flourish peacefully. Some of these organizations claimed to have progressive ideas; nevertheless they were overwhelmed by reactionary trends. Although the general situation remained so, yet the struggle of the Somali people for true independence and tangible economic development, had never ceased blazing. The masses had displayed strong opposition and hatred for the regime which was serving the colonial interests.



The existing trade unions and youth associations, though they were influenced by the prevailing conditions, actively opposed that regime. We can take as examples, the strikes staged by the workers and youth in the years of 1967 and 1968, in which the pillars of that regime were heavily shaken. These strikes and many others had enjoyed the support of the entire masses, either openly or secretly. That situation is an indication of the fact that the people wanted changes in the system, but that they lacked an organization to lead them. A progressive worker's party could have saved the nation of such difficulties. But the workers mostly government employees, were less than 30,000. The workers in the private economic sector numbered under 5,000. Was it then possible to have such a Party? The answer is, «no»! What hope did the masses have? The National Army. The masses recognized that the National Army was unaffected by the corruption which was rampant everywhere. For that reason, their slogan was: «National Army, come for our rescue!».

II. THE BIRTH OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE CREATION OF THE PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE.

The Revolution of 21st October 1969 had overthrown this situation. This Revolution was organized by progressive Officers from the Armed Forces, under the leadership of Comrade Major-General Mohamed Siad Barre, these Officers could not tolerate the maladministration and exploitation of the people; they could not remain indifferent to the danger which threatened the very existence of the nation; so they ac-

ted bravely, representing the true feelings of and enjoying confidence and the support of the masses.

By its First Charter, the leadership of the Revolution the Supreme Revolutionary Council — chaired by Comrade Major-General Mohamed Siad Bare, had abolished the Constitution, dissolved the Parliament and the Cabinet Ministers, and had shelved all other laws which were contrary to the objectives of the Revolution. The Charter had clearly outlined the political orientation of the Revolution, committing the nation to «the creation of a new society based on justice, the right to work and social equality». Revolutionary Councils, composed of Officers from the Armed Forces, were formed at regional and district levels; these councils represented the authority of the Revolution in the Regions and Districts. Apart from the nationalization of the basic economic sectors, the Revolution immediately took measures to restore pride, patriotism and unity in the people. The Supreme Revolutionary Council immediately (in November 1969) established a Public Relations Office, with the assignment of being a liason between the SRC and the general Public. Among other things, the task of the Office was to transmit SRC decisions and directives to the masses on the one hand, and to transmit letters, petitions and messages (all containing either supports, or counsels complaints up the ladder to the SRC). Then step-by-step, the Office began to mobilize the masses.

The first task carried out by the PRO was to organize mass-rallies in support of the major decisions of the Revolution such as the nationalization of basic economic sectors, the adoption of scientific Socialism as the system of the country, and the successive orientation campaigns launched on labour, on the application of Scientific Socialism, on self-help schemes, and against tribalism, regionalism, inequality, nepotism and corruption. Mass rallies were also organized in support of liberation movement and oppressed peoples and in condemnation of the intrigues and machinations of colonialism, imperialism and their lackeys. With the responsibilities of the Office thus expanded, SRC realized that it was time to form people's committees to help the Office to mobilize the masses and to orient them to participate in the nation-building. In order to master the task of mobilizing and organizing the general Public, directives were issued to recruit and train progressive cadres for the Office. This task was to be fulfilled between 1970 and early 1971. In September 1971, Mogadishu was divided into 13

quarters in order to make the tasks of mobilization, organization, orientation and nation-building much easier and simpler; and PRO cadres were cultivated in all the 13 quarters to be headed by these trained cadres, who represented the Office in the 13 quarters. In each quarter, a 25-member people's committee was formed with representatives of the workers, youth women, elders and petty traders. Chaired by the representative of the PRO, the responsibilities of the Committee included:

1. To hold regular orientation mass rallies to inform the people of the SRC decisions and of the continuous directives in which the SRC Chairman Comrade Mohamed Siad Bare explain the progressive ideas and socialism or condemn and expose the inhuman plots of colonialism, imperialism etc.
2. To mobilize and involve the masses in the participation of the national reconstruction under the motto: «self-help». These self-help schemes consisted of schools, hospitals, dispensaries, offices roads, gardens, farms, etc. This was to channel saving made from this free labour to other projects.
3. To organize mass rallies in support of both the SRC decisions and the commemorations of national holidays; rallies in support of the victories scored by the progressive forces, the liberation movements and oppressed peoples. We can take, as examples, the mass-rallies held under the slogans: «Free Palestine!» «Halt the American napalm burning the Vietnames people!», «Free South Africa!» and «Release Angela Davis».
4. To recruit and train patriotic and revolutionary cadres to implement the programme of the Revolution.
5. To safeguard the security of the Revolution.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE QUARTERS, ORIENTATION CENTERS AND SOCIAL COMMITTEES

All these duties were carried out by the PRO. As the tasks of mobilization, organization and orientation expanded constantly, in February 1972, the SRC decided to establish Orientation Centres in all quarters of Mogadishu. By availing the masses enough

space to get together, these centres had facilitated the task of mobilizing, organizing and orienting the masses; they were big enough to seat a large audience and to provide conference halls and offices for the various committees. Parrallel to this form of mass organization was the expansion of the number and the scope of the people's committees. The Quarter Committee was supplemented by three more Committees: i.e. Workers Committee, Youth Committee and Women Committee, each one consisting of 15 members. These three committees came under the main committee which members also represented the workers youth, women, elders and small traders. The main committee was responsible for the general administration of the Quarter in field of organization, economy, mobilization, orientation and self-help schemes. The workers, youth, and women committees were particularly assigned to deal with mobilizing, orienting and involving their respective groups in the participation of the nation-building; at the same time, these committees assisted the main committee in its tasks.

The members of these committees were nominated by the PRO with the consultation of the PRO representative in the concerned Quarter. To be eligible for the membership of these committees, one had to be a staunch supporter of the Revolution, a hardworker and loyal. The main committee was chaired by the PRO representative in the Quarter. The committee discussed its business in a frank and friendly manner, and reached its decisions by majority votes. The PRO representatives were authorized to deal with unexpected situations and to decide on urgent matters which could not wait committee sessions. Everything was done to ensure that PRO representatives were persons of a high sense of responsibility, loyalty and political consciousness. Those found incapable of fulfilling their duties properly were replaced. As we have said earlier, the creation of new Orientation Centres in the Quarters had added, both in quantity and in quality, to the mobilization, orientation and organization of the masses. In addition to the various social committees, a force of Victory pioneers (Guulwadaayaal) was quickly founded. Grown from the youth of the Capital City, Mogadishu, these Victory Pioneers were given training courses to raise their political consciousness. These training courses were related to the campaign on the application of Scientific

Socialism. Numbering thousands, these pioneers had been given a two-week seminar in Waberi Quarter (now Waberi District) of Mogadishu between the last week of September and the first week of August 1972, after they had completed training courses in their respective Quarters. While under training they marched in the main streets of the City, reciting progressive slogans and singing revolutionary songs in praise of the Revolution, and pledging to sacrifice their lives in defence of the Revolution. They also shouted slogans to scare the anti-revolutionary forces. Amongst these popular new songs were: «Victory Pioneers, Siad» «We won't feel fatigue of the work; we won't let our spears deflect from the enemy».

The closing ceremony of that training was held in Bondere (now Bondere District) of Mogadishu on 19 August 1972. Attended by more than 20,000 youth, ceremony was addressed by the Chairman of the SRC Comrade Mohamed Siad Bare, who named the new youth force as «Victory Pioneers», after hearing them sung the song «Victory Pioneers, Siad» (Guulwada Siyaad), which identifies themselves as being the defenders of the achievements of the Revolution.

The formation of these young Victory Pioneers did not come out of the thin air, but it was a response of the Somali youth to the plea made by the Leader of the Revolution, Comrade Mohamed Siad Bare in December 1971 at the Benadir Football Stadium, where he had entrusted the Flag of the Revolution to the young; In his plea comrade Mohamed Siad Bare stated: «We have entrusted the Flag of the Revolution to the youth who will defend it, both from the internal anti-revolutionaries and from the imperialists abroad».

The imperialists and their stages had made several futile attempts to overthrow the Revolution. However, thanks to the constant vigilance of the revolutionary forces, those plots and coups were exposed and foiled in time. At the same time, the «Flowers of the October Revolution» (Ubaxa Kacaanka) was formed in all Orientation Centres. This force consists of children aged between 6 and 14 years. The committees of that period, included political representatives nominated from the workers of the State Organs to be a liason between the PRO and the workers and

to help the PRO in mobilizing and orientating the workers. First there was one representative worker for each flate organ and later a committee of three members.

The mobilization, the orientation and the organization of the masses were confined to the Capital City, Mogadishu. As it had obviously enjoyed the largest number of cadres and propaganda instruments, indeed, the Capital City served as a lab where new methods of mass-mobilization and new organizational forms were first applied and experimented so that successful ideas could be introduced to elsewhere in the country. Although it was not as fully planned and as strong as those in the capital where the PRO had its Headquarters, yet the programme of mobilization and the orientation of the masses were in full swing throughout the country.

The Public Relation Office had no regional or district branches. The task of mobilizing and organizing the masses rested on the shoulders of the Revolutionary Councils and their sub-committees. Known as the «National Guidance Committee», these sub-committees consisted of workers, women, youth and elders. The Regional Revolutionary manners in which the PRO conducted its business in Mogadishu. Because of the decisions and directives continuously pouring out of the SRC and the Council of Secretaries, and because of the intensive development projects then going on, the masses had maintained a great measure of eagerness and enthusiasm to get mobilized for th participation in the national reconstruction. We can say that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses had reached its climax between late 1971 and mid 1972. Because of this high peak of revolutionary spirit, that is the period when many revolutionary songs, poems, and slogans were composed; it was the time when the masses had learnt chorus songs such as «Victory Pioneers, said», which had become the official song of the Revolution, «Retreat not and we shall always crown you with flowers», «We won't feel fatigue of the enemy». The popular working songs and slogans such as «Oh! idle onlookers, your country is under construction», «Immortal as you aren't, die for your country», were but few examples of the revolutionary enthusiasm while Hotel Juba — burned by the enemy — was being reconstructed under a self-help scheme. The construction was estimated at 32 million shillings but it cost 16 million shillings only. The Headquarters of the National Trade Fair is another exemplary

project which clearly shows what our revolutionary workers had proven to be capable of achieving during that period. This large Trade Fair and Hotel Taleh were completed within 24 days. This project, if constructed at a normal speed, could have taken at least a year to finish.

THE EXPANDED PRO RESPONSIBILITIES

In March 1972, the SRC had issued a law which expanded both the responsibilities and the power of the PRO. In addition to the responsibilities already



entrusted with the Office, the new law had charged the PRO with the task of creating social organizations — trade union, youth organizations and women associations. This meant that the PRO tasks of mobilization throughout the length & the breadth of the country. This task also included the training of the political cadres. At the same time, the organizational structure of the PRO was enlarged; the number of the existing departments of the mobilization of the workers, foreign relations, inspection and propaganda were all increased. New departments such as the Departments of youth, women, training, etc were created. The heads of these departments executed their duties in the form of committees. With the assistance of socialist countries such as the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic (GDR), the training of political cadres was intensified. Hence, by mid 1972, it was possible to send PRO representatives to all regions and districts (16 regions and 79 districts at the time). That period marked the time when mass mobilization and the national orientation had passed the experimental stage in Mogadishu and spreaded to the entire country.

After one year, the regions and the districts had caught up the pace of the Capital in the fields of mobilization and mass organization. Since the objectives behind mobilizing and organizing the masses and raising the political consciousness of the people was to transfer the public administration to the people themselves, the SRC had issued the Local Government Law in June 1972. Under this Law which came into force on 21st October 1972, new regional, district and village committees were formed. The members of these committees were drawn from the workers, youth, women, farmers as well as from other social strata. These committees replaced the councils which were formed in the Regions and Districts after the birth of the Revolution, which consisted of only four officers from the Armed Forces.

The members of these new Committees were selected from among the workers who had manifested a long record of struggle, hard-working, patriotism, revolutionary zeal and love for the principles of socialism. On the proposal of the PRO, the SRC had the final decision in this selection. The Regional, District and Village Revolutionary Committees were given full powers to conduct government business at their respective levels. These powers included budgetting, planning projects and matters pertaining to social affairs, security etc. Under these committees, came sub-committees such as a Security Committee, an Economic Committee, social Affairs Committee, an Orientation Committee, Reconciliation Committee and Audit Committee. These revolutionary Committees functioned from October 1972 to September 1976. During that period, these committees had certainly made some significant achievements of course, they had also some short-comings and were not free from criticism. The defect mainly belonged to some of the committees ex-officio members. This is to say that the heads of the various government branches in the Regions and Districts were members of these committees automatically, with no regard as to who was revolutionary and who were not. This practice had resulted in slackening the business of the committees, due to these ex-officio members whose efficiency and revolutionary spirit were at low ebb. Being aware of the crucial responsibility of preparing the ground for the creation of social organizations, the PRO had put great emphasis on training and recruiting cadres for these social organizations by organizing seminars, scientific studies, study tours between regions or between regions and the capital city, and training courses in the socialist camp

for the temporary committees of workers, youth and women.

On 23 July 1973, the Head of State Comrade Mohamed Siad Bare had issued a circular empowering the PRO to form a 7 - man Committee in all Ministries, autonomous agencies, factories and private companies. The committee replaced the appointed representatives who had previously served as a liaison between the PRO and his working colleagues. The General Confederation of Somali Trade Unions (GCS-TU) which is now fully established, had originated from these committees. These committees had clearly defined rights and duties such as boosting production, defending the Revolution, participating in the administrative decisions and looking after the interests of the workers. Subsequently, youth committees which still remain at residential zones were formed at working places and schools. The organization of the workers, youth and women and their committees rested on the PRO Departments dealing with these three organizations. Day after day, the Revolution had expanded the measure of democracy in the fields of administration and politics.

In 1974, People's Justice Committees, consisting of workers, youth, women and other national groups, were formed. Members of these committees served as judges (Jurors) at all levels of the Courts. It was not necessary that these persons were lawyers; it was, however, very essential to ensure that they were people of undisputed revolutionary zeal and honesty, who would fight against inequality, bribery and the bureaucracy in the Courts. Each professional judge was assisted by two jurors from the general public and the judgement were arrived at by majority votes. This expansion of the Court had been successful and had restored public confidence in justice and courts. On the proposal of the PRO, the Minister of Justice appointed People's Judges (jurors) by a decree.

While speaking on the democratization of the administration and the politics, it is worth mentioning that the SRC enacted a law empowering workers, youth and women committees to distribute all unskilled jobs to the jobless with special considerations to unemployed revolutionaries. At times, these revolutionaries got employed as a reward for their devotion to the cause of the nation-building. Government organs were refused to employ people directly, and the PRO was to ensure that these jobs were distributed fairly. This

practice was so successful that it had eliminated corruption, inequality and bribery which were then common in the process of employment.

THE PRO WAS BOTH RENAMED AND EXPANDED

In 1974, the SRC, having realized that the tasks of mass-mobilization and organization had increased enormously, renamed the PRO as the Political Office of the Presidency of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (POPSRC). The responsibilities and duties of the Political Office had been greatly increased with the pressing task of preparing cadres for a party and for the social organizations. In order to enable the

Political Office of the Presidency of the SRC to discharge both newly added responsibilities and its previous duties which had also taken a great expansion, a serious attention was paid to the organizational structure of the Political Office and it was staffed with more progressive cadres. At the same time, Comrade Abdulkadir Haji Mohamed, a member of the SRC, member to head it, was a clear indication of the importance given to the consolidation and expansion of the POPSRC powers so that it could fulfill its duties in the face of a constant opposition from the anti-revolutionaries and the bureaucracy.

The Political Office began to introduce new methods of organization and mass-orientation, and it had planned a chain of training schemes of six months and one year durations. The cadres were sent to the party, Workers and Youth schools in the Soviet Union and the GDR. Other courses of three, two and one months durations and seminars of two or one week

durations were organized at home. In addition to these the workers, youth, women and the general public used to receive regular weekly and daily orientation lessons. For example, the workers were given an orientation lesson at their working places on every Tuesday, which is the birth-day of the revolution. Similarly, workers, youth and women received weekly orientation lessons at the Orientation Centres. Also the committees for the workers, youth, women and cooperatives, Victory pioneers, Flowers of the Revolution, sports, artists etc, constantly held meetings and seminars to discuss economic development and political matters.

The historic successes achieved in the self-help schemes remained a source of inspirations and revolutionary teaching. These self-help schemes included the literacy and rural development campaigns which were participated by the entire Somali people; The participation of huge numbers of the general public in these campaigns was a direct response to the appeal made by the Teacher of the Revolution, Comrade Siad. The motto of this appealing call was: «Learn, if you know not; but teach, if you know.» The campaign for the fixation of the sand-dunes, the Relief Operations and Resettlement Campaign in 1974 -75, and several other campaigns were difficult tests in which the Somali nation faced great challenges. The enemy and weak-minded people always said: «Let us not waste efforts on impossibilities!» However, these campaigns were so successful that the Somali nation had earned international recognition and praise. These Campaigns raised the masses to a higher level; a level where the individual reached a point-of-no — return whereby he was deeply convinced that he was helping build his country, feeling proud of the knowledge and the experience he had gained in the struggle; a level where he was brave to fight against the forces of reaction; a level where he left many competitors behind in the race; a level where he had won rewards; a level where he was determined to continue marching on the righteous revolutionary path. Those who had taken, and are continuing to take part in this bitter struggle which demanded self-sacrifice, were mainly workers, peasants, youth, women and members of the Armed Forces. But in all cases. Women had taken a lion's share in the nation-building. The part in which women have played in the economic, political and social development of the country since the Revolution, is written on the first page of the Revolutionary History Book. Despite the fact that many



groups had taken part in the campaigns and self-help projects, no other group can compete with women in these said fields. The silver medal awarded to women by the SRC Chairman, Comrade Siyad, and his statement that: «women is a force which the short-sighted is incapable to understand,» are evidence of this recognition. In all venues and at all times, whether at work, at orientation, at mass-rallies or at celebrations, women dominated the scenes through increasing quantity and preserving continuity so much so that the reactionaries had to say: «The Revolution has no people, except women and children.» Public participation in the Campaigns and in self-help schemes was planned and prepared by the POP-SRC the (the former PRO).

Implementing the directives of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, the POPSRC tried to know the general public very deeply, so that it could tell the hard-worker, the mediocre, the lazy, the anti-revolutionary, etc. This close observation of the capabilities and feelings of the people enabled the POPSRC to discern and encourage people of merits. There were several forms of incentives such as commendations both in private, in public, written prizes, certificates of honour issued at district, regional and national levels as well as national medals — ranging from bronze to gold. These incentives also included promotions and job-awards to those who had won in the race for national reconstruction and for the mobilization of the revolutionary masses. Thousands of people had received such awards after they had distinguished themselves as abnegators.

The establishment in 1975 of the Institute of Political Science with the help of the Soviet Union was one of the commendable jobs of the POPSRC. The founding of this Institute was significant from the point of view of the country's need for cadres equipped with the ideas of Scientific Socialism. Today hundreds of workers and youth who were trained at this Institute are working in the political and economic fields; and many others are still under training there. The Institute organises courses of six months and one-two years, covering such subjects as scientific socialism, the philosophy of scientific socialism, political economy etc

POPSRC ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Since its inception as the PRO, the Political Of-

fice represented the SRC on foreign relations with parties and social organizations at national fora. Right from the beginning, the Office was directly handling external relations with socialist parties, with progressive parties and with social organizations. However, when the branches for workers, youth and women were established, they had cultivated direct relations and cooperation with their counterparts. In that period, the Political Office had scored remarkable successes in this field and it had created good understanding with the social organisations of world. This is evidenced by the fact that we are a member of either the executive committee or the permanent secretariat of the following international and progressive social organizations: the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), the International Union of Students (IUS), the women's International Dem. Federation (WIDF), the All-Africa Trade Unions Unity (OATU) the Pan-African Youth Movement (PAYM), the All-Africa Students Union (AASU), the African Women Organization (AWO) the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU), the Arab Youth Organization (AYO), the Arab Students Union (ASU), and the Arab women Organization (AWO).

The active participation and the vivid role played by the Somali Youth in the 10th Youth Festival in Berlin (GDR) in 1973, in the WFDY Conference on condemning Apartheid held in Mogadishu in April 1974, when the Leader of the Somali Revolution, Comrade Siyad, was awarded the medal of the WFDY and the Conference of the African Women Organization held in Mogadishu in April 1975, are all examples of successful performances. To have a glance at the future programme too, it is pertinent to mention here that Mogadishu will host an IUS Conference on the Revival of National Culture as well as a WFDY Conference on Environment in July and November this year respectively. These conferences follow the accords reached with the political Office of the Presidency of the SRC (POPSRC). As has been said, the Political Office had not only participated in international conference and fora, but it had also hosted conference and invited delegations in its constant pursuit to cultivate relations and to exchange views, as well as supports with others.

THE IDEOLOGICAL WAR WITH THE ANTI-REVOLUTIONARIES

We have not yet discussed the difficulties which had faced the Revolution, and which impeded the revolutionary changes, specially in the field of mobilization and organization. But it is undisputable fact that many difficulties were confronted. If we briefly mention some, concluding alliance with world imperialism, the local reactionaries had applied all its tricks and tactics and had mobilized all its manpower and material resources to leave no stone unturned in order to extinguish the revolutionary torch. Apart from armed plots and economic sabotages, the anti-revolutionaries had used thousands of propaganda methods in order to mislead the general public or to instill doubts in the minds of the masses. The best weapons which local reactionaries and imperialists always find useful in the developing countries whose masses have a low ebb of political consciousness, are religion and tribalism, to which these masses are understandably susceptible and most sensitive. They preached the people that Socialism meant atheism, that tribalism is necessarily indispensable and that, for that matter, no one can benefit from the Revolution unless one's tribesmen were in the Leadership. Other reactionary arguments which were always addressed to those who were taking a great part in the social and economic development, went on the following lines: «Will you get extra-pay for these works? And who knows that you have done this job? Why are you wasting your efforts by this madness & show-off? This is nothing but show-off performances, in pursuit of a praise.» «It is sinful that women go out of their houses and they are automatically divorced if they go out to selfhelp projects or to Orientation Centres on their own». They also spreaded slanderous propaganda against the SRC and the Armed Forces, arguing that: «never had soldiers staged a Socialist Revolution. They are big-footed ignorants who don't know how to run a country.» The motive behind this propaganda was to set the masses against the Armed Forces who were leading the Revolution. This was tantamount to attempting the Revolution to stumble and fall-flat.

This was the propaganda utterance of the anti-revolutionaries. Those who spoke in such manners and who decided to fight the Revolution from within in order to restore their lost privileges and those hirelings serving imperialist interests, were all known as «rumour-mongers». The opposed SRC decisions either through misinterpretations or through malicious

propaganda, saying: «Oh dear! Have they run mad? They have gone most wild today! We bet, this is a decision which would lead them to their ruins. It is unpractical decision». When such a so-called «unpractical decision» is implemented, and a new one is made, then they would repeat this same tirade all over. However, never had these rumour-mongers been successful in their malicious and continuous propaganda. Never had the revolutionary masses doubted to swerve from the course of the revolutionary march; On the contrary, the masses had always confidence in the Revolution; Their revolutionary spirit and their participation in the nation-building gained strength day after another, because they could see for themselves that the Revolution was committed to undertake real changes for the good of the people.

The reactionaries had continuously fought an ideological war against the work of the Political Office and its cadres, opposing all attempts to enlighten and equip the people with progressive ideas. They accused the Political Office of seeking extra-ordinary powers and of interfering everything. When and if the Office had pinpointed the fundamental errors and the maladministration of the bureaucracy the reactionaries argued: Is the staff of the Political Office better than other people? Why should they interfere other people's work? In their propaganda war, these anti-revolutionaries also said: «The representatives of the POPSRC are reckless madcaps; «They are camouflaging themselves in smoke and fog, with the intention to use the name «Socialism» for their own conveniences and interests»; «They are bearers of an alien thought; they are people who know not the Somali customs and traditions». «They hate the soldiers».

By this propaganda, the reactionaries intended to fan fire between the cadres of the Political Office and the masses. The POPSRC and its cadres was not the sole target of the reactionary propaganda: similarly, fallacious propaganda was also harped against other revolutionary people, against the committees of the social organizations, and against the Victory Pioneers. However, history has proven all these allegations completely wrong. Those who made such utterance had all become anti-revolutionaries, opponents of the national interests; and many of them landed behind the bars either for anti-revolutionary activities, or for misappropriation of public funds; some managed to flee away in protest of the revolutionary changes which were going on in the country, opting to serve imperialist interests in lieu of humiliating remunerations.

On the other hand, the revolutionaries who were being accused by the reactionaries, have not fled away; they have neither swollen their pockets with public funds nor become imperialist tools. On the contrary, they are still struggling to materialize the creation of the new society. Many others have naturally perished or become disabled and ill in this struggle. Those heroes who had died while implementing their revolutionary duties included: lieutenant Yassin Artan, the POPSRC representative of Mogadishu's Wadajir District and Comrade Ahmed Aw Aden, the POPSRC representative of Hargeisa District. Comrade Yassin Artan had died of a heart-hemorrhage while addressing a meeting. We have taken these two comrades just as examples. But certainly, many other comrades have died while implementing revolutionary duties; and hundreds of others suffered temporary or permanent illnesses. However, the Revolution has honoured the revolutionary martyrs and veterans. And there is no doubt that the people will honour those who serve their country honestly and selflessly.

III THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY

As we have said earlier, mobilization and organization of the masses reached a high peak from 1972 to 1974. After 1974, it seems that the growth of the mass-mobilization and public enthusiasm had declined, despite the fact that the mobilization and organization of the masses had made positive changes both in quantity and in quality since then. This was due to the fact that the capacity and the powers of the POP SRC had fallen short of leading the social organizations and the revolutionary masses who needed that the surge of the Revolution should never halt limp. It was always apparent that the Office could not lead these mass movements as best as we would want, and that it was necessary to have a party with its full-fledged structure, with its programme and constitution, for V.I. Lenin said: «The role of the vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory»

After 1974, the expansion of the mobilization and organizational works had slowed down and it seemed that the wheel of their growth was revolving on a circle. These situations could only be remedied by the formation of a revolutionary party to disentangle

the jam of the masses. Since its birth, the Revolution was aware of that problem. The numerous measures taken in the direction of unifying the masses, of raising their political consciousness, of mobilizing and organizing the masses and of involving them in nation-building, were all intended to pave the way to form a vanguard party.

On several occasions, the Chairman of the SRC, Comrade Siad's contention that it was necessary to form pre-conditions necessary for the formation of such party. From 1973 to 1975, Comrade Siad had announced that a revolutionary party would be formed in the country.

This issue had given birth a dialogue and arguments in three directions: some people supported Comrade Siad's contention that it was necessary to form a party — a Party of the New Type for only such a party could lead the Revolution; the second group who spoke on behalf of the reactionary lot, argued that we needed neither a party of the new type nor a party of any other type, and that the Revolution should go on without party; In essence this meant that the administration of the Revolution should remain in the hands of the bureaucracy which stood between the SRC and the people. This, in turn, meant to let the Revolution perish slowly. The third group the loyal masses — whose political consciousness was still low, argued: «There is no need for a party, because parties had all ended in fiasco, they divided us into factions and they exploited us badly.» Formalistic in their approach, these masses must have thought that the party in question would not be dissimilar to the pre-revolutionary parties.

Those who opposed to form a party also argued «There are no cadres. So first of all, sufficient number of cadres must be prepared.» But this argument was faced by another one which said: «Cadres cannot be prepared inside offices or in a vacuum, they can be prepared only in the struggle of a party. Therefore, a Party of the New Type should be formed straight away with the existing cadres as its nucleus.» The Political Office, its cadres and the progressive forces all strongly supported this argument which was based on Comrade Siyad's idea. Even though this argument dragged on, a number of other factors had delayed the formation of the party. These included:

- 1) The prolonged drought which had seriously affected the country in 1974-75;
- 2) The Political Office which then lacked sufficient cadres, equipment and experience could not prepare the selection and the registration which would be helpful in forming a party.

Finally in 1975, the SRC had assigned its Subcommittee for Social and Political Affairs to study ways and means to prepare its relevant documents such as the programme, the constitution, etc.

In June 1976, taking all the above-mentioned problems into account, the SRC had decided that a Party of the New Type be formed and the task of preparing its membership was entrusted with the Political Office, this was to be done with the help of the ground-work previously covered by this Office. A preparatory Committee was urgently appointed to pave the way for a Congress of the Party foundation. The difficult question of «Who should be a member of the party?» immediately arose. Some people suggested: «Party members should be educated people who believe in the principles of Scientific Socialism.» But this would obviously result in a very narrow selection, for the number of people with such qualifications is very small indeed. Another suggestion was that party members should include all those patriots who had shown revolutionary enthusiasm, who had continuously participated in the national construction with vigour and vehemence, who had supported the Revolution unswervingly, and who had committed no crime against the country before. Considering the circumstances prevailing in the country, and the need for careful tactics, the SRC had decided to opt for the second suggestion, which favoured to recruit patriots who had supported the Revolution for the membership of the Party of the New Type.

At last, the Congress of the Party-Foundation was held at the Military Academy in the Capital City between June 26 and 1st 1976. Numbering 3,000 the founders were drawn from 82 districts in 16 regions and from other organs dealing with socio-economic matters. Most of the delegates were people who were selected by the POPSRC for their distinguished role in the revolutionary struggle, for their hard-working, for their loyalty and love for national development under a socialist orientation. It was a histo-

ric event that the SRC transferred all its powers and responsibilities to the people — an act which is unprecedented in the history of the third world. The Congress had adopted the programme and the constitution of the Party which was named as the «Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP)»; the Congress also elected a 74 — member Central Committee, a 5 — man Politbureau from the Central Committee, and a 3 man Central Inspection Committee.

The Congress had approved that patriotic gold medals be awarded to the members of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, who had organized the Revolution on 21st October 1969, who had endangered their lives for the interest of their people and country, who had administered the country cleanly, and who had transferred their powers and responsibilities to the people. The Organizer and Leader of the Revolution, Comrade Siad whose distinctive patriotic services were unmatched was singly awarded, by the Congress, both the National Hero Medal and the highest military rank, «Field-marshal». However, he refused the promotion to a Field-Marshal saying: «I had not launched the Revolution for a promotion».

In its session, the Central Committee of the SRSP constituted 17 Party Departments and a Control Committee. These are implementing the permanent duties of the Party.

Since the Party was established from above, the next step was that the members of the CC were sent to the Regions and Districts in August 1976, assigning them to select the revolutionaries who had themselves qualified to become members of the Party, so that the number of the Party membership in the Regions and Districts was big enough to establish the Party Organisations at these levels.

After having made the selection, in September 1976, the members of the CC had once again been sent to the Regions and Districts in order to organize and hold conferences to establish regional and district Party organisations. Held first at a districts level and participated by District Party members, these conferences elected District Party Committees. Composed of 8-9 members, the Party District Committee has a 3 man executive committee consisting of the Party Committee Secretary and two Assistants. The First Assistant deals with Party affairs, while the Second one deals with government administrative matters.

The Districts Party Committee also has five Departments. The Department of Organization and Ideology which is headed by the First Assistant, the Secretariat Department, the Department of Economy and Cooperatives, the Department of the Social Affairs, and the Department of Justice and Security.

Now having established the District Party machinery, other conferences were held to form regional party organisations. These conferences were participated by the delegates who were elected in the district conferences. In turn, these delegates elected Regional Party Committees among themselves. The Regional Party Committees have the same structure as the District Party Committees except that the Region has more members than the Districts: The number of the Regional Party Committee is 18-24, whereas that of the District Party Committee is 8-9. All the members of the Regional and District Party-Committee are workers who work as party activists. Only the Secretary and the two Assistants are full-timers.

As soon as Party organisations were established at Regional and District levels, the formation of the the Party Units and Cells was tackled next. These Units and Cells were formed both at working places and at residential zones. The Unit is established where there are three or more Party members; when the Unit has 51 or more members, then it elects a 5 members Committee, with a Secretary and Assistant, and three branches dealing with organizational, ideological and secretariat matters. The Cell is formed where there are one or two Party-members, regardless of whether there are or not candidates for Party-membership. The formation of the Units and Cells has been completed.

THE PARTY FORMATION IN FIGURES

Total Membership	Workers and Employees	Peasants	Other Groups (unemployed, petty-traders etc)	Male	Female	Units	Cells	District committees	Regional committees
12,330	7,896	735	3,699	8,265	4,065	478	328	82	16

HOW REGIONAL AND DISTRICT COMMITTEES IMPLEMENT PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DUTIES

As Regional and District Party Committees were formed by September 1976, the Regional and District Revolutionary Committees which were responsible to conduct government business in the socio-economic fields before were dissolved. Since the cadres are still in a shortage, the Regional and District governmental matters were entrusted to the Regional and District Party Committees. Therefore, the Party Committees have dual responsibilities: a party responsibility & a governmental one. The Regional & District governmental duties are entrusted with a committee known as the Administrative Committee which is both at Regional and District levels. This Committee is composed of the Secretary of the Party Committee, the First Assistant who deals with Party affairs and the Second Assistant which deals governmental affairs. On the other hand, these three office-holders form the executive of the Party Committee. There are also sub-committees who are appointed for various administrative matters.

The substitution of the Revolutionary Committees has two reasons: First is a shortage of cadres, which had necessitated that Party functionaries were immediately occupied with state jobs; Secondly, formerly all heads of Regional and District governmental branches were, by virtue of their offices, members of the Revolutionary Committees, regardless whether one was revolutionary or not. Clearly this loose method had criticism and was bound to fail. So it had to be changed.

For the one year that the Party was in existence, it had been tackling with fundamental organizations, whether Party organizations at Regional, Districts, Unit and Cell levels or whether social organization; naturally the party has face many difficulties such as a lack of sufficient experience and opposition and propaganda from the local reactionaries and their imperialist bosses. Despite these these difficulties, the party has done a great deal of work everywhere in the country, too. The Administration of the Regions and Districts has undergone several changes since the foundation of the Party. The Regional and District Party Committees always discussed and decided on matters relating to the economic development of the country and to the interests of the people. For example, the organization of the cooperatives and the campaign to boost agricultural production made significant progress du-



ring this year. In their ideological war against the Party, the anti-revolutionary forces propagate: «The Regional and District Party Committee make hasty and unlawful decisions», «They jail or deport whoever they so wish», «The Party-members are people who lack either experience or higher education,» etc.

What is the objective of this propaganda? The objective behind this propaganda could only be to oppose revolutionary changes so that corruption can go on and so that the economic development should get frozen. And all this means a desire to see the Revolution to fail and collapse.

However, the Party, with the social organizations, the Armed Forces and the revolutionary masses, rallying around it, will have no doubt to identify such utterance as mere foolish propaganda put up by the reactionary forces, and has firm conviction that the

progressive forces will be successful in building a new socialist oriented society.

TRAINING COURSES FOR PARTY OFFICIALS

During the year in which the Party has been in existence, a greater attention was paid to the problem of giving proper training to the cadres of the Party education, — the knowledge of the principle of Scientific Socialism — the Central Committee of the Party decided, right from the beginning, that the cadres should be taught Party work & party education. These training courses included regular lessons & short courses organised both at home & abroad. Within the last seven months, seminars of 20-30 day durations were given to 90% of the Secretaries of the Regional Party Committees, 100% of the District Party Committees, 100% of the First Assistants of the District Party Committees, 100% of the First Assistants of the Regional Party Committees, 30% of the First Assistants of the District Party Committees, 60% of the cadres of the social organization. This training scheme has been implemented with the help of the socialist countries of USSR, GDR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and the People's Republic of China. In addition to this, all party members were instructed to take part in a 7 year party-education scheme in which Party-functions as well as the principles of Scientific Socialism will be studied.

The Party-members whose educational standard is below the Intermediate Level, were also instructed to attend special schools in which they would be given normal education upto the Intermediate Level within three years. All these measures demonstrate the fact that the Central Committee of the SRSP fully appreciates the need to ensure that Party-members are properly educated so that they could have a firm knowledge and belief in the principles of Scientific Socialism. The education and the training of this kind will be permanent, in order to enable the Party-members to have the qualifications necessary for a member of the party of the new type.

IV. THE FOUNDING OF THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

As we have said above, the social organizations trade unions, youth and women organizations — were established before the Party though not in a complete and fully legalized form. Congresses for wor-

kers, youth and women organizations were held in 1975 and 1976. These congresses were participated by the regional and district committees of the workers, youth and women organizations. In these congresses, the organizations had discussed their respective organizational structures, how to raise the cadres, political consciousness, how to create their own economic sources, and how they would take part in the national development and in the defence of the Revolution.

However, central committees were not elected in these congresses, neither were programmes and constitutions adopted; this was so, because the Party was yet to be established. Before the Party-foundation, the organizing of the social organization was at a good stage, and they had comradesly relations and mutual cooperations with their counter part organizations at national, Regional and international levels. Among these organizations are: The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), the All Africa Trade Unions (AATU), the International Union of Students (IUS), the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), the Pan-African Youth Movement (PAYM), the All-African Students Union (AASU), the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU), the Arab Youth Organization, the Arab Students Union, the Arab Women Organization, and the national organizations in the socialist camp as well as the progressive social organizations which are struggling in the Capitalist World. This is evidenced by the fact that Somalia now is a member of either the Secretariats or the Executive Committees of these continental organizations.

Implementing the decisions taken by the Third plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the SRSP, held on 4-16 January 1977, on the re-organization of the social organizations, congresses were urgently convened to form the social organization.

Composed of the members of the Party Central Committee, the National preparatory committee which was assigned with the task of re-organizing the social organizations had decided that these congresses be held prior to the celebration dates of the international holidays which are observed throughout the world. These holidays fall on: 8 March — international women's day — which is also observed by the Somali women and the people as well; 1st May (international labour day); and 15 May — the birthday of

the independence party, the Somali Youth League (SYL) founded by 13 young patriots in 1943. Therefore, it was agreed that the women congress be held on 27-30 April 1977; and that the youth congress be held on 12-14 May 1977. These congresses were recorded to be the First Congresses of these respective social organizations, despite the fact that, strictly speaking, each one of them had had two other congresses before. These latter congresses were constitution congresses in which working-programmes and constitutions were adopted and central committees were elected to lead these social organizations.

Although these congresses were convened at short notices and in rapid sequence, yet they were conducted in an efficient manner, a democratic conduct, as has been said by the General Secretary of the SRSP, the President of the Somali Democratic Republic, Comrade Mohamed Siad Bare, who had made the opening and closing speeches in all three congresses, and whose important speeches will certainly be a constant source of inspirations and encouragement for these organizations.

The General Secretary of the SRSP Comrade Siad and the members of the Central Committee paid a great attention to these congresses and their regular participation in the sessions, their constant presence throughout exhausting sessions, are all evidence of this. The participation of delegations from the social organizations of the world — at national, continental and international levels — gave weight to the importance of the congresses. These fraternal guests included delegations from: the Italian Communist Party (ICP), the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students (IUS), the Women's International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU), the Arab Youth Organization, the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), and the social organization of workers, youth and women) of the socialist countries of USSR, German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria (workers and youth), Czechoslovakia (workers and youth), Cuba (women), Rumania (workers), Hungary (youth), Korea (youth), Iraq (workers and youth), the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (workers and youth), the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (workers), Tanzania (workers and youth), Egypt (workers), French Trade Unions (CCGT) Italian Trade Unions (CGIL) the workers Union of ANC (SAC

TU) the African National Congress of the South Africa, the Organization of Chilean patriots, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

The social organizations are organized at working places, at schools and at residential zones, with the exception of the women organization which operates only at residential zones. Both the General Confederation of Somali Trade Unions (GCSTU) and the Somali Democratic Women's Organization (SDWO) have working-programmes as well as constitutions; but the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union (SRYU) has a constitution only, fulfilling the working programme of the Party.

The higher organs of these social organization at the national level have the following composition.

ORGANIZATION	GENERAL COMMITTEE	SECRETARIAT	CENTRAL INSPECTION COMMITTEE
GCSTU	86	12	3
SRYU	112	13	3
SDWO	157	11	3

Taking due consideration into their importance, the Somali social organizations have been given the cream of the cadres and they are headed by members of the Central Committee. The Secretariats of the Central Committee. These organizations are manned by full-timers. The establishment of these social organizations have been completed beginning from the national level down to the regional, districts, village, working place, and schools level. The statistical data of the members of the social organizations is still incomplete. To be a member of either the youth or the women organization, one has to apply in written as is stipulated in their respective constitutions. The trade union is different: The subscription law of the GCSTU, which had been decreed before the founding of GCSTU and which has been adopted by the GCSTU congress, makes it compulsory that every worker should pay the fee to the workers fund. Therefore, every worker pays that subscription as a member of the GCSTU. The number of the subscribers is now 147,000, most of whom are state employees. The number of the labour force in the state economic sector is 260,000; this number includes both those in the permanent jobs and those in the temporary construction.



Apart from the programme and the constitution, the decisions of the third plenary session of the CC served as useful reference from which inspirations could be drawn. The major decisions taken by that meeting include: the social organizations be re-organized, that the programme to consolidate the party be implemented; that a campaign to boost self-sufficiency in cereals by 1980 is launched; that senior government officials be appointed by the Central Committee; that the members of the Central Committee should not, and can not have private property, and that any member of the CC who has private property should volunteer it to the party. Also many other decisions concerning in the interest of the people were reached in this plenary meeting.

The Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, whose birth has brought a new situation, as stipulated in its constitution, is faced with a hard task, which is to ensure to realise the objective of which the Revolution was born for on 21st October 1969. This objective was to lead the Somali nation to a rapid transformation of the socio-economic backwardness inherited from colonialism and Neo-colonialism and to lead the society to a better life — a life without exploitation and classes.

Although the base and superstructure of our society are at a rudimentary level, and even-though both local reactionaries and World imperialism are waging a bitter struggle against the national progress, yet there is no doubt that the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party in alliance with the workers, peasants, nomads, the intelligensia, the armed forces and all the revolutionary masses, and counting on the support of progressive forces of the World — will emerge victorious in the struggle for the creation of a new socialist society.



THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE SRSP

by Ahmed Mohamed Farah - member of CC of the SRSP

The Somali people and especially the working class will soon celebrate the commemoration of 1st July, the foundation date of the Somali Revolutionary socialist Party. Considering the history of other parties, one year is a short period, yet the SRSP has gained enough experience within this period. It has accordingly fulfilled its role of leadership, organisation and welfare of the Somali working people. The Secretary General of the SRSP Jaalle Siad clearly portrayed this during the founding congress, of the General Federation of Somali Trade Unions when he said: «The ties of the SRSP to the masses through the social organisation and other progressive forces is determined by the quality of its leadership, its long and short term strategies in the continuous process of organising, supervising and right leadership for the implementation of the national tasks facing us».

Also the role of the SRSP is clearly defined in its programme: It is only possible through the maturity, cooperation and positive approach to labour of the masses who possess revolutionary outlook and who have the same stand and goal. It is impossible to fulfil this responsibility without a political organisation which is at national level and equipped with knowledge of the social laws of society and has defined goals. An organisation which is aware

and fulfills the interest of the working class and has the capability of organising and mobilizing them for the tasks laid out by the revolution».

This reflects the tremendous role of the Party in raising up the life of the masses. As days pass, the responsibilities and tasks increase and assume different dimensions and hence, the role of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party also strengthens. The SRSP has a short and clear programme which clearly defines the approaching stages in the transition and the completion and consolidation of the socialist construction. The basis for this are:-

- The elimination of underdevelopment and problems inherited from colonialism and imperialism.
- The creation of material and technical base for socialism.
- To raise the living standard of the working class.
- The consolidation of democracy.

The special attention made towards the above objectives together with the ending of the Five Year Plan while applying the decisions of the Party sessions and the directives of the Secretary General of the SRSP Jaalle Siad have all facilitated for the Party in one year to fulfill its tasks with deep commitment. In between 1976-

1977, the Party tasks had different characteristics due to the formation of the basis for a Party of a New Type.

Before the foundation of the SRSP, the country was led by the Supreme Revolutionary Council which had the 1st and 2nd Charter of the Revolution as its programme. During its period of office, the SRC was preparing means of transferring power while at the same recruiting the right forces for the leadership of the country. This ultimately gave way to the formation of the SRSP.

The historical role of the SRSP as already mentioned by Jaalle Siad became clear when our country entered a new stage with unique characteristics. Therefore the question one is faced with is how did it become possible for the SRSP to fulfill its tasks in its first year without experience. The implementation of the tasks of the SRSP during its embryonic stage has been made difficult by the following reasons. —Lack of Party experience: To acquire this time, sacrifice, ability and party knowledge is needed.

The Party which has not yet formed properly its organisational structure. (The leading organs of the Party from the cell up to the leading organs in the regions and districts).

— Psychology of the people which is still not used to the new type of leadership.

— The Party Cadres who are not yet equipped with the right knowledge of implementation of Party policy.

— Members of the Party who are not acquainted with the Party of the New Type.

Out of these reasons, it became imperative for the SRSP to struggle on two fronts:-

i) Formation of its own organisational structures.

ii) Implementation of its tasks in organisation and mobilisation.

The commitment of the Party to these two aspects has not made one to lag behind the other but each of these two aspects has facilitated the implementation of the other. While pursuing the establishment of its organisational structures at all levels, the Party implements its duties which calls for the necessary ties between its organs and the government. The Central Committee and Secretary General of the SRSP have explained many times on how to implement tasks associated with production, administration and culture.

The leadership role of the Party is continuously growing. The prime basis for the growth of the role of a party is a qualitative change in social, economic and cultural aspects of life. It is really difficult to achieve this change in a country with a very low level of economic development. This has necessitated a party of a new type so that it may lay the foundation of the aimed progress.

During the construction of

socialism, numerous problems emerge which if not properly solved can retard this process.

This is inevitable if the Party does not pursue its historical role against anarchy and stagnation and adhere to the right policy of the revolution.

The SRSP, while making use of its one year experience, the decisions of Party sessions and the directives of the Secretary General, has made its immediate tasks the following points:-

- To raise the people's welfare and standard of living.
- To consolidate revolutionary culture.
- To promote the role of the Party.
- To cement the tie the party has with the Government and trade Unions.
- To consolidate the tie the Party has with the masses.

The consolidation of national economy and the promotion of the social life of the masses

The decisions of the 3rd Plenary session of the Central Committee of the SRSP emphasised that production and people's welfare should be given prime consideration. The decision read as follows : « As specified in the programme of the SRSP, when implementing projects, 1st consideration should be given to production, especially food production and in particular the staple food of the masses».

Therefore in order to fulfill this task the Central Committee reached a decision to make a programme of self-sufficiency in

food by 1980. Also the Central Committee reached a decision to consolidate the role of cooperatives in national development especially in seeing to it that the programme of self-sufficiency becomes a success.

The five year Plan (1974-1978) ends next year. Therefore, considering the decision of the 3rd Plenary session of the SRSP and the conclusion of the five year plan, the SRSP is faced with heavy responsibilities which have great significance for the progress and future life of the Somali people.

It is inevitable for the Party to concretely and dynamically pursue the above objectives and to overcome all kinds of stagnation so as to fulfill these objectives accordingly. Therefore in order to do this, it is quite necessary to follow the directives of the Secretary General of the SRSP Jaalle Siad during the closing speech of the 1st Congress of the Somali Trade Unions:

- To promote production and make scientific plan.
- To promote socialist emulation.
- To promote labour discipline.
- To promote supervision and control of work.
- To promote the participation of the working class in the organisation and administration of work.

The above points directly help the development of the eco-

nomy and the implementation of the immediate programme of the Party. Moreover this will enhance the growth of the role of the Party as it pursues the fundamental issues relevant in the life and progress of the working class. The Party can fulfill this by having strong ties with the masses and by carefully attending to the productive sectors of the economy. The SRSP should make constant supervision which will help the quantitative and qualitative increase in production.

Moreover the fulfillment of the government plan determine the sound transformation of the life of society. The year 1977-1978 is a testing period for the SRSP. It is a year which calls for sacrifice, commitment and imagination. The SRSP will without doubt fulfill its tasks by using its programme and the general laws of socialist construction.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE

Revolutionary culture gives political awareness and knowledge to the working class. The founder of scientific socialism Comrade K. Marx said that, as soon as ideas reach the masses and once the masses attain the necessary consciousness these ideas turn into indomitable material force. Therefore, it is pertinent for every revolution and Party to wage a cultural revolution. The Revolution of 21st October 1969 took a historical step in this field which facilitated for the SRSP to properly handle its role. The programme of SRSP contains an article about culture and its significance.

This article indicates the necessity of reviving the culture of the Somali people, and the acquisition of the positive aspects of foreign culture, especially those of socialist countries. Also the programme calls for the ne-

cessary struggle against imperialist culture itself an aspect of underdevelopment. This involves the struggle against ignorance and the promotion of the educational level of the society.

The basis for the success of this cultural revolution was the writing of the Somali script and the mass literacy campaign initiated by the revolution.

In order to fulfill its immediate tasks the SRSP should consider the followings: it should make an all-round cultural revolution, apply the directives of the Secretary General, make use of the experience of world progressive forces; eliminate ignorance and propagate the quest for knowledge. It should develop the mass media for party propaganda i.e. radio, newspapers, theatre etc.

Cultural revolution is indispensable to assure the awareness and knowledge of the masses in correspondence with the given material development.

DAYS OF VICTORY

In the Somali Democratic Republic 26th June, the day the Northern Regions liberated themselves from the British Colonialism 17 years ago, was celebrated with gaiety and enthusiasm. The most significant celebrations took place in Mogadishu and Hargeisa.

In Mogadishu the anniversary celebrations were organized by the Bondere district and were participated by the chairmen of the Party Bureaus for Organization, Legislative, justice and Cooperative. Also present were the Secretary of the party Co-

mmittee of Benadir region, the celebration of this great day was the president of the national university, the chairman of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union, the Social Organisations and the public.

The main speech of the celebration of this great day was delivered by Jaalle Warsame Abdullahi Ali, chairman of the Cooperatives Bureau. Jaalle Warsame spoke about the long struggle the Somali people has undertaken to achieve independence, and the steps taken by the Revolution to revive the history of the Somali people.

In the same day a similar celebration was held in the «Garden of Independence» in Hargeisa. The Minister of Sports Jaalle Farah Wais Duule, the Secretary of the Party Committee of the North-West Region Jaalle Bile Rafle Guled, important figures of the government, workers and thousands of the General public participated in this celebration.

During the celebrations Folklore dances, songs and plays were displayed in which the artists of Waberi, Halgan, the Revolutionary Youth and the town dia-

tricts of Guryo-samo and 26th June Participated. The secretary of the Party committee of the North-West region gave a speech in which he spoke about the long struggle of the Somali nation for independence.

In all the regions and districts of the country 1st July was celebrated as the day when 17 years ago the Southern Region of the country attained its independence, the two parts of the country united and as the First anniversary of the Foundation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party. In all the 14 districts of the Benadir region celebrations were held in which members of the Central Committee and the general public participated. In all the celebrations held in the city districts speeches were delivered by members of the Central Committee of the S.R.S.P. who dwelt on the Somali National Liberation Movement. Flowers were laid at the monuments of the liberation struggle by the social organizations, the revolutionary Youth led by Comrade Mohamed Osman Jeelle, Chairmen of the Bureau for Party Finance, and the Secretary of the Party committee of the Benadir Region, comrade Yusuf Ibrahim «Aburas», a member of the Central Committee of the SRSP.

The eventful 1st July in which coincided three national vic-

tories has been celebrated joyfully all over the Republic. Jaalle Siyad, General Secretary of the SRSP and President of the Somali Democratic Republic said this historical occasion: «The 1st of July is a day of great significance for the Somali Nation. It is to be remembered as the day we broke from the yoke of colonialism and cut through the fence which divided our country». Comrade Siyad on this same occasion expressed his congratulations to the people of Jibuti, who attained their independence on the 27th June.

Jaalle Siyad in his 1st July anniversary speech to the nation, characterized this day as the greatest day in our history for it coincides with the First Anniversary of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party. The General Secretary of the SRSP in his speech pointed out that many gains have been achieved during that year. The Central Bureau of the Party tried hard to lay down the basis on which the party structure could be built. This basis was the establishment of the Party Branches in the regions and districts, the creation of the Party cells and committees, the formulation of the Party programme and statute and the foundation of the social organizations.

The president of the S.D.R. Jaalle Siad further said that

the tasks before the Party were many which could not be carried out in a year or two. However, Jaalle Siad said that the Party members have so far achieved a great deal and wished them more success in the years to come - successes which would be a landmark in our history.

In the evening of 1st July the «Waberi» folklore artists exhibited a play on the long struggle of the Somali nation towards independence and unity. Among the spectators of the play were the General Secretary of the SRSP, members of the Central Committee, members of the social organizations and the general public.

At the end of the play the General Secretary delivered a speech in which he denied the Ramu affair which charges that 3000 Somali soldiers penetrated into Kenya and that 3 Kenya's soldiers were killed as a result. The General Secretary mentioned this as a baseless accusation of the Somali People.

The General Secretary compared the Ramu affair with that of Berbera and said that such charges are perpetrated by reaction and imperialism. Jaalle Siad assured that Somalia will not attack any one and is ready to solve the problems between us and Kenya in a fraternal and good neighbourly manner.

SRSP DELEGATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A delegation consisting of 40 party functionaries, members of the social organizations, members of the armed forces, regional and district secretaries and

government employees have left Mogadishu on May 4th on their way to Czechoslovakia. The purpose of the visit was to participate in a seminar on the exchan-

ge of experience.

The main objectives of the visit to the socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia were for the participants to acquaint themselves

with:

1. The socialist ideology in general;
2. The socialist Party work and the Party relations with the Government and social organizations;
3. The experience of building socialism in Czechoslovakia.

During its stay of 45 days it has undergone a short course in

which theory and practice were united. The theoretical aspect was concerned with: ways of building a socialist society, the carrying out of party work, the working together of the Party and government and Party guidance of the social organizations and the masses. In the practical aspect the delegation members were taken to the factories to the cooperative, to the muse-

ums and the historical places of Czechoslovakia. The delegation sojourned in the Slovakian Republic for three days.

The delegation has during its stay seized the opportunity to acquaint the Czechoslovakian hosts with the Somali experience. Films about the S.D.R. were shown and books and journals written about Somalia were distributed.

SRSP DELEGATION IN YUGOSLAVIA

A delegation led by Comrade Mohamed Abdi Dunkal, deputy Chairman of the Ideology Bureau, visited Yugoslavia on the 27th May. The delegation stayed there from 23rd May to 15th June. The Purpose of the visit was to enable the members of the delegation of the Somali Revolutionary socialist Party to acquaint themselves with the Socialist experience of Yugoslavia. The programme made out for the delegation consisted of meetings with the communist Party leadership and visits to three Republic of the Yugoslavia Federation which were Serbia, Bosnia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At Belgrade airport the delegation was welcomed by a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and functionaries of the Party department for international relations.

During its sojourn the delegation gained a great deal of information about the experience and the socialist reality of Yugoslavia. They became informed both theoretically and practically about the socialist construction of Yugoslavia. The delegation got first hand knowledge about the structure and functioning of the social organizations there. The most interesting aspects of the visit was the delegation's exposure and acquaintance with how the system of Self-management of the workers functions in practice. The system of self-management of the workers is unique to Yugoslavia among the socialist countries.

The Socialist Federation Republic of Yugoslavia consists of 6 republics and of two autonomous provinces. Each Republic has its own Government machinery. The principle of equality among the republics

and provinces is reflected by the Political and administrative structure of each Government.

The Objective of the Visit was not limited to the one-sided aspect of the delegation gaining from their experience of the socialist construction of Yugoslavia. Another objective of the visit was for the delegation to acquaint the Yugoslav friendly hosts they met with the history of the struggle and the victories of the Somali people. The delegation explained how our country was divided by colonialism. It also told about the Somali Liberation movement, about the corrupt Governments in the Neo-colonial era and about the birth of the 21st October Revolution and the achievements made thereafter. Moreover, the delegation showed the Yugoslav hosts a film on the resettlement of the drought - stricken nomads.

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE BIRTH OF GEORGI DIMITROV

The progressive peoples in the world celebrated in June 18th the 95th anniversary

of the birth of one of the eminent leaders of the international workers movement, namely, Ge-

orgi Dimitrov. He was born in 1882 in the Radomir district of Bulgaria.

Dimitrov deserves such an international recognition because of his famous defence in the Reichstag charges. Georgi Dimitrov was accused by the Nazis as one of the conspirators in the burning down of the Reichstag; the headquarters of Adolf Hitler. In September 1923 Georgi Dimitrov was brought to a court in Leipzig. The trial continued for three days and among those present in the court were 82 foreign journalists and 42 German journalists. The actual purpose behind these charges against progressive individuals was to damage the struggle of the workers against capitalist exploitation and suppression.

Although Georgi Dimitrov was a Bulgarian national he played a significant role in the Comintern, in the international workers movement. He became an international figure because of the part he played in the Comintern. In the 7th congress of the Comintern the most important issues dealt with were the ways to unify the progressive forces and how best to confront the Fascist oppression. The main report for the conference was submitted by Comrade Dimitrov himself. In his report he laid bare the ug-



liness and the beastliness of Fascism and he at the same time urged the unity of both the democratic and socialist forces. He warned against the danger of a break-up in this broad front.

Georgi Dimitrov participated actively in the workers movement of Bulgaria. He contributed greatly to the Bulgarian Communist party through his international experience. He

led his party in the spirit of internationalism in which he played an eminent role.

The progressive peoples of the world commemorate the birthday anniversary of Dimitrov as a valiant and experienced fighter against Fascism and as a brilliant organizer who indefatigably worked for the broad front against Fascism.

A TASS REPORT ON THE FIRST FOUNDATION ANNIVERSARY OF THE SRSP

On June 28th Comrade Sergei Kulik, one of the political reporters of the Tass Agency, wrote a lengthy article on the 1st foundation Anniversary of the SRSP; excerpts of the report are as follow:

These days the people of Somalia are marking the first anniversary of the the Somali revolutionary Socialist Party, whose creation marks a new stage of the revolutionary transformations not only in that country

but also in the entire African continent.

The program of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party underlines that this Party, being the vanguard of workers and

peasants, is called upon to play the leading role, in building the foundations of a socialist society in Somalia. From the very first days of its existence, having disassociated itself from the theory of «National» and «African» socialism, the SRSP announced its loyalty to the only scientific and fully revolutionary ideology—Marxism-Leninism». The SRSP sees its chief task in leading the country along the socialist road to complete political and economic independence, the achievement of unity, equality and progress.

Making its first steps, the new national Party began with the main thing: the work among the population, the creation of a local Party network, inviting the broadest popular masses to the active and conscientious participation in the state and social life, who have convinced themselves in practice that the SRSP is acting in the interests of the working people, that its programme is in accord with the people's interests.

An integral part of the party's activities is the dissemination and explanation of the fundamentals of scientific socialism to the popular masses, mobilization of the working people for the defence of the revolutionary

gains from the intrigues of the external and the internal reaction, the Party has assumed the following slogan as its principle of activity: The duty of every SRSP member is not only to show an example of selfless labour but also be an active propagandist of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism». Big propaganda work carried out by the SRSP activists is fielding its concrete results, helping the country to successfully resolve the economic tasks set forth by the Party.

Emulation for higher labour productivity that spread at many enterprises allowed the Somali Democratic Republic to increase the output of industrial products by 40 per cent. The area of tilled land has doubled from 350 to 700'000 hectares. The peasantry has vividly responded to the SRSP appeal to unite economics and now more than 120 cooperatives are producing their goods.

In the field of foreign policy the SRSP announced as its chief goal expansion and strengthening of friendly relations with the socialist states. The proximity or coincidence of views of the CPSU and the SRSP, the governments of the USSR and the SDR on many cardinal questions of our time have been ref-

lected in the treaty of friendship and cooperation signed on 11th July, 1974. Leonid Brezhnev stressed in his report to the 25th CPSU congress that this treaty had consolidated out close mutual relations with the Somali Democratic Republic.

The strengthening of fraternal ties between the CPSU and the SRSP, the development of all-round cooperation between the USSR and the SDR do not suit the imperialists, who in recent time launched a rabid propaganda campaign in view of darkening Soviet-Somali relations. «However all the attempts of international imperialism aimed at hampering the consolidation of Soviet-Somali cooperation, based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, are doomed to failure» said president Mohamed Siad Barre.

The Somali people will never forget the disinterested aid and support which Soviet Union has been constantly rendering in the struggle for genuine independence, elimination of the age-old backwardness and in building a new society. Our relations with the Soviet Union rest on the firm foundation of common ideology, fruitful cooperation and singleness of goals in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism»

From a Colonialist Stronghold to a Stronghold of Freedom and Peace

Between 16th and 19th of June 1977 an international conference against Apartheid, racism and colonialism in South Africa was held in Lisbon, the

Capital of Portugal.

The conference was jointly organized by the African-Asian peoples Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), World peace

Council, and the progressive and democratic parties and organizations of Portugal (and in particular the Communist and Socialist Parties of Portugal).

The Success of the Conference was achieved through its support by the peace loving forces of the World among which was the Somali Democratic Republic. The members of the participating delegations were upto two thousand. This large number of people represented 73 organizations from 73 countries, six delegations from the different departments of the U.N.O., and 16 delegations from other international continental and regional organizations. The delegations which took part in the Conference represented forces with different social formations and with different political and ideological convictions. Among them were delegations which represented religious organizations and those which represented the social democratic parties of Western Europe. Also present were communist Parties of the Socialist countries, parties and organizations from Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The represented Organizations were, however, united by the common rejection of the colonialist and imperialist policies and especially how these policies are at present being applied in the Southern part of Africa. The conference was, therefore, an international demonstration in support of humanity, peace and democracy and against the

racist regimes of the Southern part of Africa.

It is important to note that the Conference was made to coincide with the day (10th June) the workers and the Youth rose against Apartheid in Soweto, where the racist regime in South Africa committed an unforgettable crime. Hundreds of people who were peacefully demonstrating were shot there. The 10th June of every year has become a day commemorated by all the progressive forces in the World.

Important resolutions were taken at this conference. Among the resolutions was the one concerned with how the support to be rendered to the liberation movement could be systematized and coordinated. Another resolution supports the progressive countries of Africa in their struggle against international imperialism.

In this conference the SDR was represented by a delegation led by Comrade Warsame Ali Farah, a member of the Central Committee of the SRSP and Chairman of the Committee of Friendship and solidarity among the peoples. Making good use of this international meeting, our delegation conferred with delegations from international organizations, national organizations, heads of liberation move-

ments and international figures. Our delegation informed those people it met about the economic and social gains of the SDR and especially about the foundation of the Party and Social Organizations. It also informed those delegations about the imperialist propaganda against the S.D.R. and about other matters concerning the liberation movements of Africa and the struggle against imperialism.

The Conference held in Lisbon is itself worthy of our recognition. In fact the Transition of Portugal from a strong hold of colonialism and Fascism to that of solidarity with the Liberation movements and rejection of Apartheid within a period of three years was not an easy one. It was a painful transition realized by the progressive and democratic forces led by the Working class and its Vanguard Party. In Cooperation with the liberation movements, these forces were successful to topple the fascist regime which was an agent of international imperialism. It was only then that it became possible for Lisbon to raise its voice and condemn imperialism. It is because of that we recognize the Portuguese revolution and their support of the progressive forces of the World.

FRIENDSHIP DELEGATION TO GDR

The SRSP delegation lead by Comrade Warsame Ali Farah, member of the CC Deputy Chairman of the Foreign Relations Bureau of the

CC SRSP and president of the Somali Council of Friendship and Solidarity took part at the meeting of International Friendship League of the GDR and

Presidents and Secretary Generals of National friendship societies throughout the world.

This meeting took place in Berlin, the capital of GDR at

a time when GDR gained an international recognition which came as a result of the development of socialist construction in GDR; thanks to the struggle of the working people led by its marxist-leninist party the Socialist Unity party, within the growing economic, social and military might of the World socialist system, which is an objective and decisive factor in favour of the world revolutionary process, the meeting which gave the chance to all participants to exchange fruitful discussions in a friendly atmosphere of the good relations and the continued experience of further development of friendship societies.

Majority of the delegations which participated at the meeting were those Chairmen and Secretary Generals who contributed towards the gaining of the International recognition for GDR. The SRSP delegation explained the gains and the achievements of the Somali revolution and how they follow with interest the progress and the recent development of socialist reconstruction in the GDR. The SRSP delegation informed in detail about the foundation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, its history, programme and the decisions of the 3rd Plenary Session of the CC SRSP, as well as the creation of the Mass Organisations after the foundation of the SRSP.

All participants at the meeting were acquainted with the political, economic social and cultural tasks and objectives of the German Democratic Republic as they were defined by the 9th Congress of the Socia-

list Unity Party, which took place in Berlin, Capital of GDR in May 1976. All were informed of the current development within the GDR and tasks which are to be fulfilled ahead.

The life in the German Democratic Republic is characterised by political stability and continuous economic growth and by steady advance in the spheres of science, education, culture and technology. It is quite clear that the enemy of socialism will have no chance to prevent the further progress of socialism in the GDR.

During its stay in the GDR, the delegation exchanged views and information with the President of the GDR—Afro Asian Solidarity Committee and with many other high ranking officials of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party who acquainted the delegation with the experiences of GDR and expressed deeply felt solidarity with the struggling peoples of the Somali Democratic Republic for their noble aims and for our common cause. During its stay in the GDR, the delegation experienced the progress made in the socialist construction and paid a visit to two regions of GDR i.e; Leipzig and Halle and had discussion with several institution including Workers and Youth in factories. The delegation practically observed closer the economic and social conditions of the Industrial Workers in the towns as well as in co-operatives in the country side. All participants admired and highly appreciated the living standard of the working people of the GDR, which could not be imple-

mented but in a socialist society. After several discussions with individuals and groups the participants from all continents were convinced of the realization of Socialist democracy in the GDR.

Amongst the many comrades of the League of friendship, the delegation was given the opportunity to meet Comrade Herman Axen, member of the Political Bureau and the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Commission of the SED Central Committee, who gave the delegation information in details of the growing relations between the Socialist Unity Party and the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party. He spoke of the foreign policy of the GDR, a policy which is designed to secure favourable conditions for the construction of socialism, the support of the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and social progress and to gain acceptance for the principles of peaceful co-existence. Jaalle Warsame Ali expressed thanks and gratitude to the League of Friendship and the SED for giving him an opportunity to meet so many comrades responsible in the Party to exchange information, views on the recent developments in Africa and the whole world in general and the Horn of Africa in particular. He praised the foreign policy of the GDR based on the principles of internationalism. He further emphasized the importance of the role of the anti-imperialist front of the socialist community and the national liberation movements against international monopoly, colonia-

lism, neocolonialism, fascism, racism, zionism and Apartheid for national independence, democracy and social progress.

He continued that the SRSP will oppose all attempts of reactionary forces and continue to consolidate the firm and fraternal fighting alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as the decisive base of its successful revolutionary struggle.

After GDR the delegation left to the Soviet Union where they met the representatives of the Soviet Friendship Association with foreign countries, the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the USSR Academy of Science African Institute. They exchange views and experience on matters related to both organisations as well as both countries.

The delegation after Lisbon on their way to somali had a stop-

over in Rome, where they had the chance to meet the CC of the Communist Party of Italy mainly with comrades Giancarlo Pajetta, member of the Politbureau and G. Giadresco with whom they exchanged views and information on the current events in Africa in general and the horn of Africa in particular and discussed the growing of the existing relations between our two parties the PCI and the SRSP.

THE MONTH OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE KOREAN PEOPLE

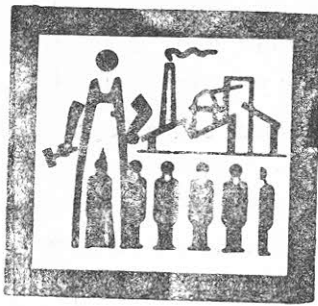
On June 25th a reception in honour of the 27th imperialist aggression against Korea was held at the Workers Hall. 25th June (The day the imperialist aggression started) up to 27 July (The day the aggression ended) is called the Month of Solidarity with the Korean people. Participants of the reception were the chairmen of the Bureau for Party Organization, Bureau for legislative and justice and the Chairman of the So-

mali Revolutionary Youth Union, the Korean Ambassador in the SDR, leaders of the social organizations and many other people.

Comrade Mohamed Ali Ahmed, the Chairman of the Public Relations Department of the Somali workers organization, reflected in his speech to the Long struggle the Korean people waged to liberate their country and their present struggle to un-

ite their divided country once again.

The Korean Ambassador in the S.D.R. Comrade Swak Chel Su, pointed out in his speech the good relations between the two countries and the two peoples of Somalia and Korea. These relations are based, his excellency the Ambassador said, upon friendship, common ideology and views against Imperialism and for World Peace.



POLITICAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES IN SOMALI EDUCATION

by Yusuf Haji Hersi

Education in Somalia has experienced significant changes since 1969. Most of these changes are quantitative involving both formal and informal education, some of them are significantly qualitative, revolving around the issue of Somalising and socialising Somali education. The adoption of a script for Somali in October 1972 has provided a crucial basis for these changes.

Under colonialism, It is not possible for the education system to play the role of transmitting knowledge and culture in order to develop human traits that are conducive to economic, social, political and cultural transformation and progress. On the contrary, colonialism negates the culture and the intellectual heritage of the colonised society. At its best, colonialism transposed a parasitic elite on the previously harmonious social structure who is incapable of initiating social progress. Thus, Walter Rodney points out, «The main purpose of the colonial School system was to train Africans to help man the local administration at the lower ranks and to staff the private capitalist firms owned by Europeans. In effect that meant selecting a few Africans to participate in the domination and exploitation of the continent as a whole. Colonial schooling was education for Subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment». (1).

In this way Colonialism denied formal schooling for most Somalis. A British official in Northern Somalia once put it bluntly: «Being disastrously grave to educate the Somalis; and since the country cannot absorb the School leavers, only 8 elementary and one intermediate school are sufficient for helping the lowest ranks of the administration.» (2). During the Fascist Era, an Italian official wrote a secret directive in which he forbade attempts to extend elementary education for natives and to teach our language to as many children, as possible . . . We should reserve the strictly necessary education for the sons of chiefs

and more important notabilities only, because these can later on succeed to the duties of their fathers, serve as interpreters and hold modest positions in offices . . . it is mistaken policy to establish orphanages, because there, in the end, you will give them habits that do not belong to their race or their social class». (3).

As a consequence, we see that only 1'265 Somali children were receiving Italian colonial education in 1934. All of them were in elementary Schools. (4). Even when national and international pressures were brought to bear after World War II, the situation did not improve very much. During 1954-55, under Italian trusteeship of Somalia one witnessed 96 elementary Schools enrolling 5'863 male and 727 female pupils, 6 intermediate schools enrolling 459 male and 42 female pupils, 2 secondary schools enrolling 55 male students. In British SomaliLand, the figures for 1953 report that 19 elementary schools enrolled 1021 male and 29 female, 3 intermediate schools enrolling 345 boys and 1 secondary school and 1 vocational training centre enrolling 16 and 33 boys respectively. There is no need to repeat here that colonial education was alien to Somali culture and needs in its curriculum both in content and form.

The situation improved somewhat just quantitatively during the Neocolonial era due to mass pressures. But radical progress can be witnessed only after 1969 as we provide contrasting statistics. The Revolutionary Government's formal schooling policy consisted of (a) expansion of education: adopting the policy of compulsory education for all children from 6 to 14 years of age; (b) democratisation of education; making it free and equal unrelated as in the past to property status, making it accessible to all regions and areas of the SDR; (c) Somalisation of education; previously it was administratively and curriculum-wise based on foreign culture, Somali is now the medium of instruc-

tion while the curriculum and school text-books will reflect the Somali cultural milieu; (d) the socialisation of education: teaching scientific socialist principles and World outlook in all ladders and aspects of formal education; (e) vocationalization of education: the great need to increase vocational technical and professional education. Adopting Somali as the medium of instruction has greatly facilitated the objective of Somalia's revolutionary changes in education.

During the Scholastic year 1969-1970, students enrolled in all schools were 55,021. During the five Revolutionary years 1971-76, the number jumped to 240,550. This shows that in five years school enrollment increased 337.2 per cent. In four years, between 1969-70 and 1973-74, the elementary schools enrollment increased 128.2 per cent, or equivalent to an annual growth rate of 32.1 per cent; intermediate schools enrollments increased by 51 per cent or 12.8 growth rate, secondary education enrollments rose overall by 63.8 per cent or 16 per cent annual growth rate. During 1969-70 there were 6,412 secondary schools students of which 137 were girls; in 1973-74 we find 18,500 secondary School students of which 1,773 were girls. Considering girls, their enrollment increased 140.6 per cent over the four year period.

Before the Revolution, there were three technical and two vocational schools. Today there are 16 technical schools, 2 polytechnic (to be opened in 1977), 2 clerical, 1 maritime, 1 agriculture, 1 animal husbandry, 3 nursing, 1 range management, 1 School for telecommunication technicians. This is an area in which progress has just begun, a great deal more needs to be done to create revolution in technical and scientific education. On One hand, the trend is to increase technical and vocational schools, on the other, this also involves adding technical and vocational training to the curriculum of normal secondary schools. In the long run this also involves all ways and means of relating theory and practice, study and production. Preparation of teaching materials for such schools helps to equip the Somali language with an adequate, technical and scientific vocabulary. Apart from borrowing new terms, this also involves studying traditional Somali science (in medicine and veterinary matters for example) and refitting the old concepts in new application. Some of this has involved original contributions to the teaching of science, especially at the elementary level.

All this has involved a great expansion and Somalisation of teachers training programmes. During 19-69-70, the number of Somali teachers totalled 1,873: in primary schools 1,542 teachers, general secondary schools 252; technical schools 19, teacher training schools 10. In 1973-74, the corresponding figures were: 3,826 primary level teachers, 437 in general secondary schools, 159 in technical schools, 44 in teacher training and 20 in kindergartens, adding up to a total of 4,486 teachers. These statistics show teacher growth rates as follows: primary level 148.1 per cent, general and technical secondary education 84 per cent, teacher training 340 per cent.

As a results of colonial and neo-colonial policies, Somalia was so underdeveloped that a full-fledged university was not provided for. The revolutionary government took it upon itself to establish, as a matter of top priority, a National University (SNU). By 1972, five faculties were in operation namely education, law, economics, agriculture and the sciences. By 1974, the faculties of medicine, veterinary and animal husbandry and natural sciences (mathematics, engineering and geology) were added. Currently the Somali National university caters for a total of 2,500 students, 10% of whom are from workers who are given university level opportunities. The female student ratio rose from an insignificant number to 10% in four years. The college of education of the SNU, which prepares secondary school teachers, enrolls about 500 students each year in its intensive two-year degree programme. Currently, Italian and English are used at the University level. But by 1981, a predominantly Somali language freshman class will enter the SNU. Plans are underway to Somalise the University as best as possible. Even today, there are a number of lectures in various subjects being offered in Somali. Some steps have also been taken to Somalise some of the textbooks. For example, a 623 pages college-level chemistry text-book has been translated from English to SOMALI.

The Somalisation of education has called for the preparation and printing of Somali books covering various School subjects: arithmetic, algebra, geometry, chemistry, biology, physics, history, geography, Language and Literature, technical and vocational subjects. Most significant work is going on in the area of writing textbooks in mathematics, physics, biology and chemistry. The natural science terminology being developed is bound to have far reaching consequences. Before 1972, all school textbooks were written by foreign aut-

hors and printed in foreign contries, They did not have least relationship with the culture and environment of the Somali child. To Somalise educational materials, the Ministry of Education appointed 203 Somali teachers into 15 research- writing committees to prepare textbooks for each level of the lower education ladder which now consists of a unified system of 6 years primary level and 4 years secondary level education. The result of such textbooks preparation efforts so far amounts to the producation of 135 textbooks in Somali Language.

LEVEL

	Number of text books
Primary Education	70
General secondary level	40
Technical secondary level	5
Home economics (secondary level)	4
Home economics (Intermediate)	2
Kindergarten level	1
Adult Education	10
Agricultural Education	1
Fishing Techniques	1
Poultry farming	1
Total	135

Between 1973 and 1976, the Ministry of Education has published 6.2 million copies of books in Somali. The Publication of books and Somalisation precess have been facilitated by the policy of nationlising all private schools (missionary and non-missionary) and all private printing establishments. Today, the state printing Agency carries out the printing tasks of the nation.

Such revolutionary changes in the quantity and quality of education cannot be separated from the context of a Socialist-oriented path to development. One illustration of this is provided by the fact that, to cope with the expansion of schooling facilities, voluntary mass labour had to be utilized. During the colonial era, Somali masses shunned colonial education,

today, they gladly answer the call of the Revolution to build class-rooms on the principle of self-help and self reliance. There has been an increase of 2,154 class-rooms in primary level education of which 1180 were built in 1975 alone as a result of utilizing mass labour on a voluntary basis.

An important dimension of the new progressive context is illustrated by the important changes in non-formal education facilitated by the adoption of a script for Somali. There was no any mass education programme at all during the colonial era. At the beginning of the revolution, if we turn to the statistics of the 1969/70, we find that 18,056 persons were enrolled in non-formal or adult education. Out of this number 3,188 were women. These adult education classes were conducted in either Italian English or Arabic. It soon became obvious that a genuinely mass education programme cannot be Launched without the use of the Somali Language. On March 8, 1973, once written Somali had been proclaimed and implemented, a national Literacy Campaign was Launched. This campaign focused in the beginning on urban areas, operating on the basis of the self-help volunteer principle. The Ministry of Education points out that, as a result of this urban campaign, 400,000 persons were alphabetised.

On August 1st 1974, a major Rural Development campaign (RDC) was Launched. The campaign was unique in the history of Somali, it was the first offensive in a strategy aimed at closing the urban-rural gap which had been directly and indirectly foisted by colonialism and neo-colonialism. The importance attached to the campaign is underlined by the fact that schools were closed for one acadmic year to permit the whole-scale involvement of teachers and students in the RDC. The main dimensions of the RDC included:-

- a) Eradication of illiteracy among the rural people;
- b) Public health improvement
- c) Animal health improvmnt
- d) Census for both people and Livestock

The scope of the RDC can be gathered by grasping the fact that Somali Democratic Republic consists of about 650,000 square miles with a population of about 4.5million. In the rural areas the population is scattered and is often mobile due to the practice of nomadic pas-

toralism. The transportation system in the rural areas is poorly developed, indeed, the majority of the villages had no roads at all before the RDC. During the period of the campaign, 1.6 million people were medically treated and 1.4 million received vaccinations of one sort or another, 19 million animals were treated, 2.3 million of them received veterinary vaccinations. The Literacy aspect of the RDC involved 1.2 million people. As a whole 1,757,779 persons of whom 597,665 were women alphabetised in the urban and rural Literacy campaign. The SDR now has a Literacy ratio of about 70 per cent. None of this would have been possible without the use of written Somali as a medium for instruction.

As the Minimum objectives of the mass literacy programmes were achieved, another campaign for a more systematic functional education programme for adults was started throughout the country. The new curriculum for non-formal education has been Somalised and vocationalised.

CONCLUSIONS

The changes in Somali education described above are indeed significant, yet they simply represent modest beginning. A great deal more needs to be done in order to deepen the qualitative aspects of Somali Education. Certain areas need to receive particular attention in future. Among these:

— The need to expand and improve vocational and professional education, in order to achieve a greater and better relationship between schooling and production. The need to develop an adequate scientific concepts and terminology within the Somali Language.

— The need to constantly relate theory to practice and to concretise this in the schooling curriculum in terms of practical involvement, practice oriented research etc.

— The need to complete the development of various higher educational level structures, priority being given to the unfulfilled aspects of the Somali national University;

— The need to further systematize and deepen the teachings of scientific socialism at all levels of the educational system;

— The need to properly coordinate schooling outputs with the social and economic needs of planned society.

As an aspect of the socialist context, the SDR gives employment to all post-intermediate school Leavers. Since such graduates have received only a general education, what will be the future implications and feasibility of such a policy? Would it not lead to overstaffing in administration, to featherbedding? These and related problems will be examined in future issues of HALGAN

What is definite is that this horizontal development in Somali education creates the conditions which will let Somalia achieve surprising results in a vertical sense. The provision of mass education does not preclude but can only provide a broader basis for qualitative improvement, for the deeper training of specialists, technicians and professionals. In any case, these mass oriented revolutionary changes have contributed a lot to raise the level of Somali education.

Footnotes

1. Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, P. 264.
2. C.R.U. Bell, cited in Helen Kitchen, *The Educated African*, (1962) P. 97
3. Gen. Gug — Liema Nasi cited in E. Silva Bar-khust, *Ex-Tlatian colonialism*: P.170.
4. See Robert Hess, OP. Cit P. 170.



Problems of Daily Life

ROAD ACCIDENTS

How many a pupil, who have gone to school early in the morning, have been over-run by a vehicle on his way back home? How many an old man in slipping age haggling with a wand have been killed by a car, while trying to cross the road aimlessly? How many a mother of orphan children have met her death on her way to the city seeking help from the uncle of her children? All these and many more die of vehicle accidents very often, as we see their corpses on the streets, and at the same time hear them from the radio. Road accidents are quite new to our life, since our previous nomadic life had essentially only camels and horses for transport - the former for carrying the traditional luggages and the latter for riding. Today, the situation is different and the progress we have made contributed our possession of vehicles and the availability of numerous roads. But, indeed, it is a progress with no less sacrifice considering the magnitude of the death rate resulting from car accidents. But it is quite certain that if according to the traffic laws, the vehicles are properly handled and both drivers and public are very responsible, then such hazards brought by accidents could be averted.

If we briefly reflect on the areas of accidents, we can preferably put them into two major categories: in the city where both people and vehicles are plentiful and in the regions. The nature of the accidents which occur in these areas is different. In the former, most accidents take place due to

the collision of two vehicles, over-running by a vehicle of an individual trying to cross the street and last but not the least the hitting of a vehicle against either a wall, electric pole, etc. Most of these accidents result injuries and however many in number, they are not so dangerous. On the contrary, accidents in the regions are quite horrible as they are characterised by the turning over of the vehicle which relatively brings about a high death rate and rather deplorable injuries. This is due to the fat number of passengers and heavy load carried by these vehicles.

It is crucial here to delve into the real causes of these accidents, since every disease could only be properly cured after making a careful diagnosis on the specific germ resulting infection. Therefore, in this aspect, we have made consultations with many offices and authorities connected to traffic regulations i.e. Traffic police, Municipality etc. Jaalle Cap. Said Adib Ateye, head of the traffic section had this to say about the situation, «The accidents of 1976 were tremendous, and according to the figure of accidents in the first 6 months of the current year 1977, it seems that the results would equalize with that of the previous year». Reflecting on the causes of the accidents in the country, Jaalle Said emphasised the following:-

i) In observation due to ignorance of the traffic signs by the public and specially the residents of the

city, who are mostly newcomers.

ii) increase of the volume of the vehicles and the fact that there are no sufficient and spacious roads or streets to cater for them particularly in the city.

iii) Irresponsibility of many of the vehicle drivers.

iv) The easy acquisition by non-competent drivers of the driving license.

v) The short-sightedness involved in planning the construction of our roads and streets which is not based on long range objectives.

vi) Over loading of vehicles especially those travelling to the regions.

In our consultation, we have also met with Jaalle Col. Mohamed Yusuf, Commander of the Police Operation Unit, who confirmed with the above reasons, while at the same time reflecting on the bad shape of our roads and the fact that the vehicles are not classified into passenger and loading categories. This brings about the unnecessary injuries or deaths of many passengers by the heavy stuffs carried by the trucks. Commenting on the bad shape of our roads, Jaalle Mohamed pointed out, «The worse state of our roads has been conditioned by the prior need for house constructions long before the roads which when required force us to demolish many houses belonging to the public. We can not hope for better roads in the near future because this compels us to

destory many houses of the public which can not be so easily done.»

In the field of roads and street maintenance, we have also met with Jaalle Abukar Aden «Agabarur», Director of the Technical Department of Hamar Municipality. Jaalle Abukar told us that the Municipality spends about So. Shs. 50,000/— annually on the maintenance and better organisation of roads. He lamented on «It is so unfortunate that some people are destorying the traffic signs meant primarily to orientate the public about the traffic regulations».

We can capture the capacity of this peril involved in accidents by closely looking at the figure of accidents in the years of 1975 and 1976, which is as follows :

Year	N.-of accid.	Death	Injury
1975	3,968	313	2,901
1976	3,911	410	2,926

If we take an example from the death rate of the accidents in 1976, we come to know that only in 3 accidents about 44 persons have

died not to speak of the number of persons injured.

There is a formal law concerning road accidents but it is almost obsolete and badly needs to be revised. But we have been told a new one is also under process. This should not imply at all that there is no concrete law to indiet those careless crivers responsible for accidents. Jaalle Col Mohamed Yusuf told us that Article 445 of the Somali penal-code on indeliberate accidents states that the person responsible for the act should be sentenced from 6 months to 5 years imprisonment if the accident is minor and upto 12 years if it is otherwise. Asked if there has ever been any driver sentenced to any duration of time, Jaalle Mohamed responded, «The police conscientiously observe all those offenses they come across and consequently take them to the court».

In the countryside the most dangerous road, in terms of accidents, is the one between B/Weyn and B/Burte; A special committee has been nominated in 1975 to study the causes of the accidents. In one of their resolutions, they have sugg-

sted that walls be built in places along the road where they thought vehicles frequently turned over. But, unfortunately nothing has been done to rectify the situation and vehicles are still facing the danger.

Be it so as it may, the Traffic Departement are trying their best to minimise the chances of accidents by making for example, one way streets esepcially in the city. Additionally some students are trained as traffic personnel and according to the commander of the Traffic section, they are planning to offer courses of this nature to workers. However, it should be understood that this national problem about accidents can not be overcome simply by the traffic department but is a public affair. In connection, the Public can contribute in many ways such as :

- (i) To cross roads only on those places marked with a white paint
- (ii) To avoid destroying the traffic posters
- (iii) Drivers should be careful and responsible etc.



WORLD AFFAIRS

THE MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT ISSUE

The explosively dangerous situation in the Middle East imperils World Peace. That is why it captures the attention and concern of all the political leaders in the World, who each, in his own way, try to propose methods of solving this thorny issue.

It became inevitably essential to recognise the crux of the problem in order to be able to formulate a programme that would lead to the realisation of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

International imperialism helped create the Zionist Israel state in 1948 at the expense of the Palestinians who were subjected to the most inhuman atrocities: Quite a large number has been deported, some remained in their country as second rate citizens, and yet an appreciable portion lived in destitute in refuge camps in the neighbouring Middle East countries.

The main motive behind such an imperialist measure of creating the state of Israel has been to guard the interest of imperialism and aggressively check an Arab liberation movement that threatened its interest in the area.

In order to be able to fulfil its task, Israel had always pursued a policy of provocation, sedation and expansion. In 1948, it occupied a great portion of the land inten-

ded to be the homeland for the Palestinians aided and abetted by imperialist forces, particularly the United States. The reactionary nature of certain Arab States at that time also assisted the imperialist designs to get through.

However, the Egyptian Revolution in 1952 was a landmark in the history of the Arab liberation movement. It came out as a tremendous force of progress. The anti-imperialist Egyptian revolution dealt heavy blows to the reactionary bourgeois and feudalist classes in the country and embarked upon political economic tasks to improve the lot of the Egyptian toiling masses. The Egyptian revolution was characterized by its anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-neocolonialist, anti-racist, anti-Zionist nature. Allying with the socialist community and the progressive forces in the World, it extended positive support to the national liberation movements.

The revolutionary upheaval in Egypt consolidated the Arab peoples struggle for independence. It has been instrumental in the victories won by the Arab peoples in Iraq, Algeria, Syria and the two Yemens. Imperialism and its puppet regime of Israel were alarmed by the growing influence of the Egyptian revolution on the Arab anti-colonial struggle. So, in order to nib it in the bud, the

aggressive trio-Britain, France and Israel jointly invaded Egypt in 1956. The Egyptian revolution enjoying the support of the progressive mankind particularly the Soviet Union, was able to defeat the enemy.

Once again in 1967, Israel attacked the countries of Egypt, Syria and Jordan. It occupied Arab lands three times the size of that originally captured from Palestine.

The United Nations has ever since conducted many meetings for solving the thorny problem of the Middle East. In almost all these UN meetings the Israel Aggressive policies have been condemned. Resolutions have been passed on the effect that Israel should withdraw from all the Arab lands it captured in 1967; and that the Palestinians rights to self-determination and independent statehood recognized.

Another sphere of the Palestinian peoples successes lies in the World wide recognition they have been able to achieve from such international bodies as the OAU, the non-aligned countries, and above all the UNO with its specialised agencies such as WHO, UNESCO, Human Rights etc, which has besides its recognition of the PLO as the rightful and genuine representative of all the Palestinian people, passed that no motion on this is-

sue shall be dealt with without the pertinent participation of the PLO.

Needless to emphasise these glaring victories by the Palestinian people have been hard-own. They have been achieved by bitter struggles, both military and political and through the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian sons and daughters. The Palestinian cause has become now as clear as day light for any one to understand.

We can, indeed, say that the key solution to the Middle East Issue is the recognition of the Palestinian peoples rights; and this is precisely what Israel and international imperialism, specially USA, refuse to give in to. They only resort to dilly-dally the matter often coming up with evasive partial treatment of the issue which is essentially inter-related in every aspect. Imperialism & Israel began to purpose such machinations mainly after the 1973 war when it has become almost impossible for Israel to maintain its hegemony over the area by the sole use of force.

Among the outcome of the 1973 war was that the petrol could be used as a political weapon which could re-inforce the Arab struggle, the Palestinians have also proved, contrary to certain circles who regarded them as a weakling burden on the Arab forces, to be a formidable strength that has to be reckoned with. And hence the conviction that no peace can be attained in the Middle East without taking into account the Palestinian problem and the official

participation of the PLO in such talks.

Since 1973 war, imperialism and Zionism have been busy formulating new tactical programmes that would serve their strategic ends. They formulated and to a certain extent implemented a plan by which they could weaken the strength of the progressive Arab forces and crush the Palestinians. They carried out the policy of setting the Arab regimes against one another, with the aim of assisting the local reactionaries to come into the reign of power in the states that follow anti-imperialist line, fresh in our memories are the aggressive attacks made against the Palestinians in Jordan in 1970 and in Lebanon in 1976, in which less than 50,000 Palestinians had been virtually killed in Arab lands, of course planned and aided by imperialism.

All these aggressive devices are being carried out so that imperialism and Zionism can easily impose their conditions for the Middle East settlement after rendering the progressive forces in the area too weak for positive action. Amongst the conditions which the imperialist states & Israel want to impose are the non-withdrawal from the Arab lands Israel occupied in 1967 war, and also the non-recognition of the Palestinians rights of national independence in their homeland. It was very recent when Prime Minister Yetzhat Rabin made it clear that Israel would never withdraw into the 1967 borders which he defined as absolutely indefensible.

What adds ail to the troubled waters in the Middle East Issue is

the recent accession to power by the extreme right-wing coalition-«Likud». The rightwing terrorist leader Mencham Begin said in an interview with «NEWS-WEEK» following his rise to power that his government regards the Western bank as an Israeli liberated territory which will never concede to the Arabs. He announced that a return to the 1967 borders amounts to suicide since that would bring up the Arabs as far as 4 Km. from «Qalaaliya». He also added that Israel is supported by the US because it safeguards the US interests in the area. Should Israel withdraw from the Western bank and Gaza for a Palestinian state to come by, it would be conducive to these regions becoming Soviet bases; hence «our struggle» is to prevent the the fall of these regions under communism.

Thus it is clear that imperialism and Zionism are wholly bent on fulfilling only those solutions that conform to their illegitimate interests for carrying through a just solution that guarantees lasting peace for all the peoples in the Middle East Area, it is imperative that first and foremost the Arab states should pool together all their potentialities-political, military, and economic for the total liberation of their occupied lands. Another equally important condition is the consolidation of the progressive Arab forces, the support to the Palestinians, the strengthening of alliance with world progressive forces along strategic lines. Indeed this policy once put into practice is sure to bring imperialism and Zionism to their knees to accept a just and lasting settlement for the Middle East problem.



THE THIRD WORLD AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

Said Jama

In recent years heated debates and long discussion over the present relation in the International Economic Order has gained momentum. The restructuring of the system of economic relations between the advanced capitalist states — USA, Western Europe, Canada & Japan and the developing states has become for the later group a vital issue that has to be urgently tackled.

The industrialized capitalist states and the developing states have been either separately or jointly conducting meetings aimed at finding the proper solution to the crucial problem of inequitable economic relation between the two groups. The international economic order cannot remain as it is for long. This is an acknowledged fact. It has to be reformulated.

Just few decades ago, almost all the developing states were either under direct colonial or within the orbit of neo-colonialist system. The experience of the socialist community and its effectiveness were also at that time far from what it is today. That is why the imperialist states have been able to draw for the 3rd World the exploitative policies that secured them immeasurable profits at the expense of the toiling masses in the developing countries. The Imperialist states made sure to condition these countries to be a source of raw materials, market for their consumer goods, and a place where they can find cheap labour. The forceful aggressive effective implementation of this policy for over centuries realized immense profits for the

imperialist states; whereas the conditions of the peoples in the developing countries could hardly be defined as decent enough for a human being.

This contradiction has resulted in the bitter long wars of liberation waged by the colonized and semi-colonized peoples of the 3rd World. Today almost all the 3rd World countries are formally politically independent. However, owing to their economic backwardness and political immaturity, the majority of these states fell into the Neo-colonialist web woven by imperialist states.

The Newly liberated countries followed different policies to consolidate their political independence and develop their economy. The most determining factor, however, remained the political orientation of each regime.

Yet despite diversities and different levels of socio-economic developments, all the developing countries are united in their conviction that the present international economic order is based upon exploitative policies detrimental to the interest of the developing countries. They are also equally united on the fact that they can only attain a better economic position through a united stand in dealing with the capitalist states. This is manifested by the positions taken by the Arab states in deciding their economic relations with Western Europe, the growing position of the Organization of the oil Exporting Countries (OPEC) is a

glaring example. The Militant role played by the non-aligned countries in this aspect is worth quoting. In their 4th Conference in Algiers of Sept. 1973, they have displayed a gradual shift in its activities. They have gone further than the mere exposition and criticism of the aggressive and plunderous nature of imperialism. They have at this time formulated concrete tasks of anti-imperialist drive and drew the means and ways of success. The Conference adopted an anti-imperialist programme for reconstructing the whole system of exploitative relations with the World Capitalist economy.

Two points were highly emphasised in the 4th Conference of the Non-aligned states. The Conference reaffirmed the peoples right to dispose of their natural resources and to eliminate the domination by foreign imperialist monopolies in developing states in order to consolidate their national independence; all the participants have also come out for democratization and the introduction of the principles of equality in international economic relations and for the newly liberated countries' participation on an equal footing in the setting up of a new international monetary system.

Apart from this conference, there were other venue where this topic on international economic order was embraced. The 3rd World participants in the UNCTAD conference held in Nairobi last year expressed their seriousness over the issue directly related to

their most urgent needs. The 6th special U.N. Assembly (April May 1971) was another major event in the developing countries' struggle to democratize the system of international economic relations. For the first time in the history of the United Nations, its General Assembly was convened to consider the problems of developing countries, raw material resources and economic development. Another area where the growing struggle of the developing countries is evidenced is the platforms of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and the Afro-Arab conferences where the main themes are always centred around seeking ways and means of attaining fairer relations with the Western states and developing their economies, and the indispensability of intensified concerted efforts by all the impoverished looted states.

What makes the topic of special significance is the fact that the 3rd World supplies the industrial capitalist nations with 90% of the non-ferrous metals they consume, 80% of oil and natural rubber, 50% of cotton and sugar, etc. Besides this Western dependence on the natural resources of the 3rd World, there is another more disturbing factor: demographic forecast show that towards the end of this millenium the present developing countries will account for up to 80% of the World's Population 80% living as before in dire poverty unless the economic trend changes. The current trend should give rise to anxiety. Between 1965 and 1975 per capita income in the poorer countries of Asia and Africa, where 1,250 million people live today, went up by a mere \$ 20 from \$ 130 to 150. It is expected to be only \$ 180 in 1985.

The industrial Capitalist states

which pursue an economical exploitative policies are never willing to concede to the 3rd World countries to democratically participate in the formulation of a new economic relations. They resort to all sort of evasive, illusive methods to perpetuate the present unequal relations. However, fresh in the memories are the 1973 oil embargo which was sufficient to send the most powerful capitalist states into jitters.

The developing countries have outlined a comprehensive programme to stabilise their export prices and export earnings. They have also put forward to other tasks in the sphere of international trade. The first is the introduction of a system of price indexation and the other deals with providing an improved access for goods from the developing countries to the industrialised capitalist countries.

The capitalist countries have not shown any tangible concession enabling the developing countries to free themselves from their entanglement in the economic bondage. That is why every regional or international conference dealing with the system of economic relation between the developing countries and the Western countries fails to meet the legitimate aspirations of the young states. The last of these meeting was the one held in London on the 2nd of June 1977. There has not been any improvement in the outcome of this conference owing to the tenacious stand of the Western countries.

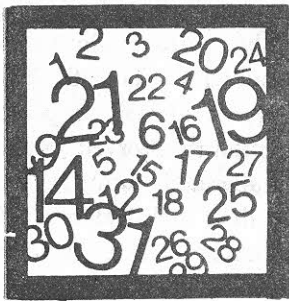
There is every indication that the coming years will be a tough time for the Western countries. This need for the developing countries, raw materials and particularly oil will increase remarkably. This fact is definitely going to intensify the political struggle between the developing countries and

the capitalist states. In this struggle, the newly liberated countries find a reliable strong ally in the socialist countries. The Socialist countries have always supported every resolution that served to help the newly liberated countries to consolidate their political independence and improve their economy. The Economic relation between the socialist countries and the developing states is marked by sound rapid and profound development, since it is based on the principles of respect for sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, mutual benefit and cooperation. Such a relation, apart from assisting the developing countries improve their economic potential, has at the same time a great impact upon the young states' political struggle against the imperialist powers.

The present structure of the international economic order will doubtless prove to be a hard nut to crack for the developing states. It has also been realized that any singular attempts by any developing state to improve its economic relations with imperialist states have often revealed to be fruitless and futile. The restructuring of the present international economic relations presupposes the militant multi-sided cooperation between the young states and the socialist countries which is conducive to the destruction of all imperialist relations.

The sharpening crisis of the World capitalist system, the co-relation of World forces in favour of the forces of peace and progress, the increasing support for the detente principle, are all encouraging factors for the developing countries to escalate their struggle against imperialism for the attainment of the desired socio-economic development of their societies.

MONTHLY BULLETIN



The 6th Anniversary of the October Revolutionary Flowers

Teams of the October Revolutionary Flowers of the Benadir region, Lafole and the armed forces laid wreaths of flowers on the unknown soldier, Hawo Iako, Dagahtur and Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hasan monuments in Mogadishu in commemoration of the 6th anniversary of the foundation of the October Revolutionary Flowers which falls on the 1st of June annually.

The Revolutionary Flowers made a long march in the main streets of the City led by the Chairman of the Organization Bureau of the Central Committee of the S.R.S.P. Jaalle Omar Salad Elmi, the minister of Education, Jaalle Adan Mohamed Ali, the chairman of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union, Jaalle Mohamed Mohamoud Warsame and the Regional Party Secretary Jaalle Yusuf Ibrahim Aburas.

In the afternoon the demonstrators gathered at the «Dara-wish» square where the chairman of the Organization Bureau Jaalle Omar Salad Elmi talked in length about the objectives for which the October Revolutionary Flowers were created. He outlined the conditions in which the Somali children were

living prior to the birth of the Revolution and the measures taken by the Revolution since then to promote their welfare and education.

In the evening the Secretary General of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre participated in a ceremony held at the National Theatre, marking the 6th ann. of the October Revolutionary Flowers. In a speech he delivered on the occasion Jaalle Siad congratulated the young ones and wished them more happier anniversaries. He also highly commended the organization of the anniversary celebrations and talked in detail about the strategies behind the establishment of the youth organization and added that it was aimed at creating a progressive and healthy society which he said could be achieved only by moulding a strong family foundation. «The creation of the O. R. F. was also aimed at liberating the future generation from the old backward legacies inherited from the colonial rule; the revolution has also liberated the Somali woman and enabled her to upbringing a healthy child» he added.

The October Revolutionary Youth is an Organization of the lower and middle school

students and comprises the second organ of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union.

The idea of organizing the young ones was started in the 1960s. Among the pioneers who strongly believed in the thought of forming youth organizations were the Somali teachers. A group of teachers in the Northern regions initiated the Boy Scouts Organization. On the other hand there were teachers in those days who preferred the formation of organizations bearing similar or even identical characteristics with the Youth Organizations in the socialist and progressive countries. However, this programme failed to materialize. The reason for the failure to organize the young ones at that time was primarily due to the fact that the affairs of the nation were in the hands of an irresponsible and corrupt regimes.

On the 18th of June 1971, the president of the then Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre declared the founding of the October Revolutionary Youth. The president, Jaalle Siad made the declaration in a speech he delivered on that day, six years ago at El-Jaalle Revolutionary Youth Center.

In the beginning they were

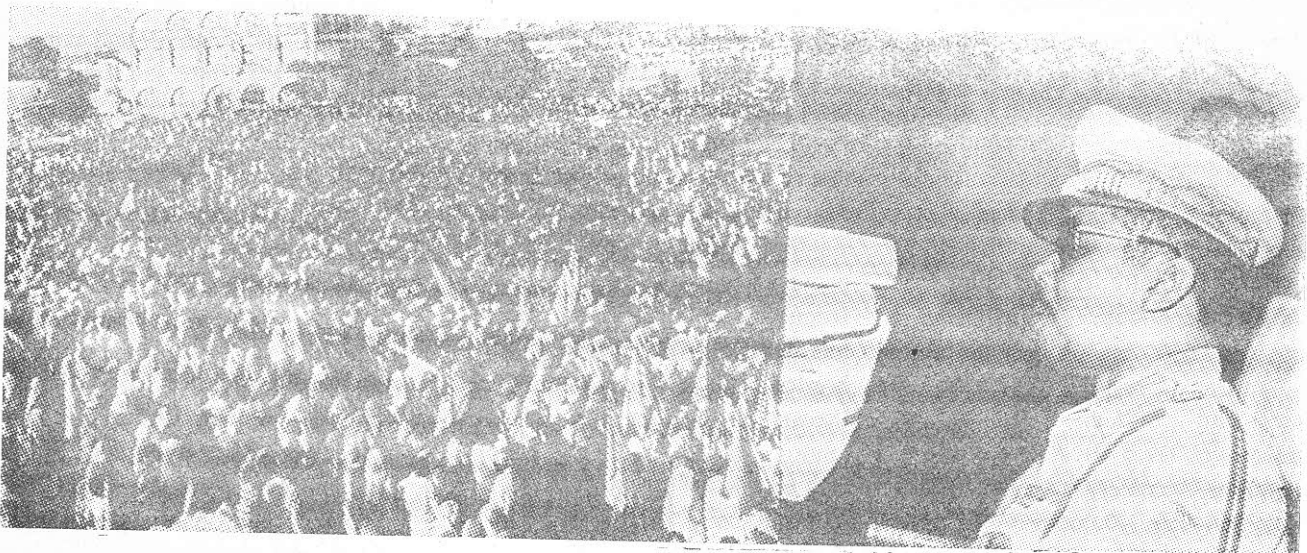
called the youth of Somalia. However, in 1971-72 the idea of establishing the title «October Revolutionary Youth» was launched. In the course of few months the number of students registered rose to 500. In 1973 the second October Revolutionary Youth Centre was opened in Mogadishu. The center is now known as the Kamaludin Centre. All youth centres established until now are fully equipped with in-door games and out-door sports facilities. Moreover musical instruments are at their disposal in the centres. It is remarkable indeed to state that these facilities are being utilized and exploited by

a youthful, and energetic portion of the society in seeking and developing their individual and collective sportsmanship and music potentialities. In addition to sports instructions and training undertaken in the centres under the supervision of professional teachers, the youth are also given education based on raising their revolutionary consciousness. In this aspect they are made acquainted with the directives of the SRSP, Jallal Siad. This necessitates a comprehensive demonstration of the policies of the revolution, the role of the youth in the process of nation building and their duties in accordance with the

implementation of Party programme and constitution as responsible and active members of the society. Cultural activities are staged in the centres to revive the rich cultural heritage of the nation in the minds of the youth.

Since the founding of the October Revolutionary Youth, the ministry of education shouldered special responsibilities in the execution of a series of programmes in the field of education successfully. Also its worth paying tribute to the then political office of the presidency of the supreme revolutionary council for its contribution in making the task a success.

JIBUTI INDEPENDENCE



The people of Jibuti shook off the yoke of colonialism on the 27th of June after 115 years of French colonial rule. The territory adopted the name of «Democratic Republic of Jibuti», with a tricolor national flag consisting of green, blue white with a red star.

At exactly two minutes after

zero hours, the French flag was pulled down and the republic's new flag hoisted over the French commissioner's residence at Jibuti in a colorful ceremony with a 21 gun salute and thousands of dancing and cheering crowds chanted «Long live Jibuti independence and unity.»

Jibuti's independence is a

good example of the inevitable victory of a people's inalienable right for self-determination. Jibuti's independence is the outcome of the struggles of Africa, the Arab world and the victory of all peace-loving and progressive countries of the world. Despite the joy and ultimate victory of Jibuti's independence, the people of the

territory will never forget the bitter days of oppression, subjugation and the backwardness legacy bestowed upon them by colonialism.

The Somali people together with all peace-loving and progressive nations wholeheartedly celebrated the independence of the Democratic Republic of Jibuti on the 27th of June 1977 with festive jubiliations. A mass rally in support of the newly independent Democratic Republic of Jibuti was held at the Darawish square in Mogadishu following the proclamation of independence. The rally was attended by member of the political Bureau of SRSP, first vice-president of Somalia, Jaalle Lt. general Mohamed Ali Samater, Chairmen of Party Bureaus, Ministers and other Central Committee members. Jaalle Samater stated in a speech he delivered on the occasion that the independence of Jibuti was achieved in a protracted struggle by the Somali people in general and the people of Jibuti in particular. «The independence of Jibuti has not come on a silver platter but as a result of bloodshed and bullets» declared Jaalle Samater. He added that numerous parties both in the SDR and the Democratic Republic of Jibuti (DRJ) have sacrificed their lives for the independence of Jibuti, while others have suffered all forms of oppression and hardship for the just cause. «We have every reason to celebrate for the independence of Jibuti, because its people are part of our people and its territory is part of our country» declared the

vice-president. Jaalle Samater talked in length about the long struggle for independence of the Jibuti people and the bitter experiences such as the pseudo-referendums of 1958 and 1967, the imposition of the name of the Afars and Issas in place of the legal, historic geographic name of the territory, the French colonized Somali Coast.

Addressing the rally, Jaalle Samater pointed out that, apart from international imperialism, the successive Ethiopian rulers always opposed the country's independence adding that the current regime in Addis, following the same policy as the late Emperor, has only recently been forced by world opinion to change its negative attitude towards the independence of Jibuti.

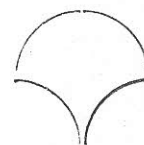
The vice-president continued on to say that while the SDR was celebrating the independence of Jibuti, the oppressive military clique in Addis is busy staging sinister manoeuvres and provocations against the young Republic. He said the Junta has deployed its army on the border of Jibuti, posing a threat to the security of the young nation. He called on the people of Jibuti not to be daunted and worried by any threat and plot from the Addis regime since they have the full backing of the whole Somali people.

Meanwhile the high level Somali delegation led by the member of the political Bureau the SRSP and vice-president of the Jaalle Major General Hussein Kulmie Afrah which included

chairmen of Party Bureaus, Ministers and the wife of the president of Somali Jaalle Khadija Maalim, returned to Mogadishu on the final day of June after having participated in the independence celebrations of the new Republic of Jibuti.

Speaking to reporters on arrival Jaalle Kulmie said that the people of Djibuti have celebrated the happy occasion of their independence with boundless joy and jubilation. He added that the Somali delegation was the largest single delegation from any country to attend the celebrations and pointed out that the Addis Junta's delegation shamelessly walked out of the festival grounds portraying their real feelings of hatred to the people of Jibuti and their independence victory. Jaalle Kulmie said that he had conveyed the greetings and congratulations of the Secretary General of the SRSP and president of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre to the president of the people of Jibuti.

Moreover, he said he had discussions with the president of the Republic of Jibuti, Jaalle Hassan Guleid Abtidon and other leaders of the government on matters concerning the fraternal relations between the SDR and Jibuti, the unification of greater Somalia and the liberation of Somali territories still under colonial rule.



COMRADE TAHA MA'AROUF VISITS SOMALIA



The Iraq Vice-president comrade Taha Mohiedin Ma'arouf visited Mogadishu last month and spent a three-day official visit to the Somali Democratic Republic. Briefing newsmen upon the airport, comrade Ma'arouf said his visit to Somalia concerns the further strengthening of cooperation between the two sister countries. On the repressive policies of the present regime in Addis-Abeba, he declared that the government of Iraq fully supports the liberation movements in Ethiopia fighting for self-determination. Asked about Iraq governments stand towards the independence of Jibuti, comrade Ma'arouf said that the Republic of Iraq will extend unconditional economic assistance to Jibuti when the territory achieves independence.

The Iraq delegation included the Minister of Foreign Affairs, comrade Sa'adoun Hamadi, Deputy Foreign Minister for Arab Affairs comrade Abdul Hussein Mahdi, Under Secretary of the Ministry of Education comrade Abdulqadir Assudin.

In the course of thier stay

in Somalia the Iraqi delegation held talks on various topics with their counterparts and were received at Villa Somalia by the Secretary General of the SRSP and president of Somalia, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre soon after arrival.

In an interview with reporters before leaving, comrade Ma'arouf expressed his gratitude to the government and people of Somalia for their kind hospitality and warm welcome during his stay, adding that his visit will further consolidate the existing fraternal relations bet-

ween Somalia and Iraq. He disclosed that he delivered a message from president Ahmed Hassan Al Bakar to president Mohamed Siad Barre, and that his visit has given him an opportunity to convey greetings from the government and people of Iraq to the people of Somalia. «We also had fruitful talks which centered on cooperation between our two countries as well as the

Palestinian cause which is the foundation of Arab Unity», comrade Ma'arouf declared. He also stated that his talks with Somali government officials also included Western Somalia territory still under colonial rule and Eritrea. He added that Somalia and Iraq agreed to establish a committee to review joint projects and other matters relating to economic cooperation between the two countries and to increase exchange of visits between leaders of the two countries. I was very much impressed by the tangible progress made by revolutionary Somalia» he concluded.

SOWETO ANNIVERSARY

A tense situation persisted in Soweto, Johannesburg's giant African ghetto, while a mass rally of about a million people prepared to mark the first anniversary of the Police's bloody reprisal against the participants in anti-racist demonstrations in many towns and suburbs of South Africa.

Soweto made headlines last year when the trigger-happy racist authorities opened fire at a peaceful student demonstration. More than 600 innocent demonstrators became victims of brutal killings a year ago in the hands of racist regime's police. This incident triggered off a chain of demonstrations, strikes, and outbursts in the citadel of racism

and apartheid. Soweto has become a symbol of the unyielding will of the Africans in South Africa, of their desire to exterminate racism.

New reinforcements of armed police were moved to Soweto, which turned into a kind of a centre of anti-racist actions of South African working people and students. The Police staged round-up in a bid to intimidate the residents and prevent possible disturbances among the population. 20 young African militants of the Soweto Represent-

tative Council of Students were arrested. Customarily, when the anniversary of June 16th events approached, the racist government banned mourning meetings and demonstrations in memory of those who fell victim to police brutality a year ago. However, this year again, though the racists could not stake to repeat last years suppression and brutality by mass firing, the anniversary could not pass by without a similar outcome. Six Africans were shot and 278 others were put behind bars as unrest

continued throughout South Africa. The student uprising was set in motion by the apartheid regime's arrogant introduction of the Afrikaans language as the country's medium of education. The black resistance stemmed out of several other issues including the question of wages and labour conditions, that involve basic human rights and fundamental freedom. The momentum of militant resistance engulfed the whole country again this year.

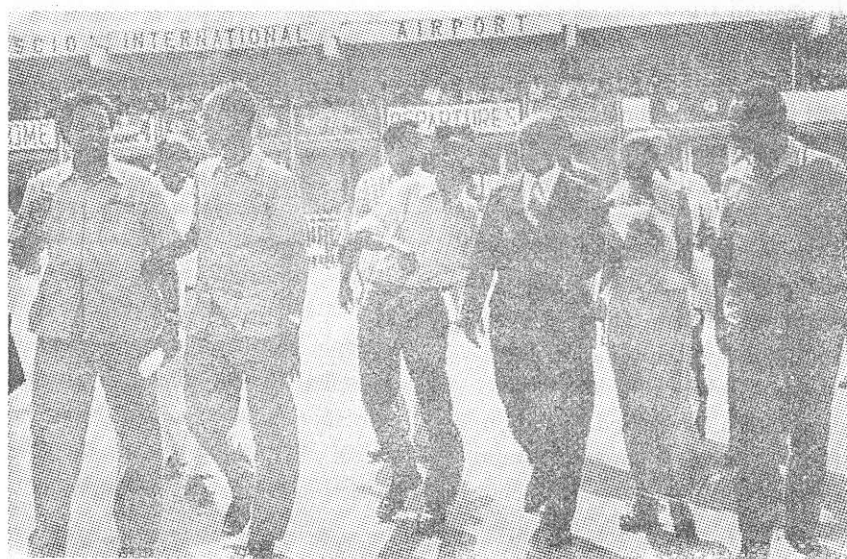
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Jaalle Ismail Leaves for China and Korea

A Government delegation of Somalia led by Assistant Secretary General of SRSP and Vice President of the SDR Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor arrived in Peking on the 20th of June, to a warm and friendly welcome. The Somali delegation left for China on a friendly visit at the invitation of the Chinese Government.

A grand welcome ceremony was held at the airport. In the company of Vice Premier Li Hsien-Nien, vice-president Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor reviewed a guard of honour composed of men of the P.L.A. ground, and naval forces. As the distinguished guests walked round to meet wellwishers, youngsters danced while others waved bouquets and shouted slogans: «Long-live the friendship between the people of China and Somalia» Vice-president Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor waved back to the crowd happily in acknowledgement.

The distinguished Somali gu-



ests drove to the guest house through main boulevards in the city festively decorated for the occasion. Colourful and huge streamers bearing slogans of welcome trailed down from tall buildings. A warm atmosphere of friendship between the people of China and Somalia prevailed. Li Hsien Nien gave a grand banquet in the Great Hall of the people in Peking in honour of the Somali delegation led by

Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor. Vice Premier Li and Vice president Ismail made speeches which were followed by playing of the national anthems of Somalia and China respectively. Comrade Li spoke highly of the Somali people, who, under the leadership of Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre have achieved gratifying success in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty and developing the nation-

nal economy & culture. He praised the Somali Government for its positive contribution to the third world cause of unity against imperialism and colonialism.

«Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, and particularly since the late premier Chouen Lai's visit to Somalia and Mohamed Siad Barre's visit to China, the friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries have made good progress. Led by their wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo Feng, the Chinese people will, as before, firmly implement the line and policies in foreign affairs laid down by the great teacher Chairman Mao and further consolidate and develop the friendly relations and cooperation between China and Somalia» Vice Premier Li Hsien-Nien, said.

Addressing the banquet, Vice-president Ismail Ali Abokor paid high tribute to the Chinese people for the success they have achieved in their revolution and construction. «We are glad to note that the new leadership in China is following the road set by Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great leader and revolutionary of all times», he said, «We feel confident also that under the wise leadership of Chairman Hua Kuo-Feng, your great and beautiful country will continue to move forward rapidly. The visit of the Somali Head of State, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre in May 1972,» the Vice president said,» made important contributions to the enhancement of friendship between the Chinese people and the Somali people and the strengthening of coope-

ration between the two countries. The Chinese and Somali people share common historical experience, and now our common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and Neo-colonialism has bound us closely together».

Speaking about the situation in Ethiopia Jaalle Ismail said, «the peoples subjected to Ethiopian colonization must be allowed the basic human rights and the right to decide for themselves their political future and their own fate». «However», Jaalle Ismail stressed «the territo-

doubt contribute to the strengthening of Afro-Arab solidarity, cooperation and for the cause of liberation of Palestine and South Africa».

«Somalia cannot afford to overlook the part which China has been playing and continues to play in support of the struggle for the liberation of Africa» he said, «The numerous and brilliant victories which the Peoples Republic of China has kept inscribing in the pages of World history are highly regarded as victories of the third World countries. The Visit I



rial questions affecting Somalia and Ethiopia should be settled peacefully through mediation and reconciliation». He expressed firm support for the armed struggle waged by the people in Southern Africa, the Liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, South West Africa and South Africa and pointed out that these will in the long run triumph over the white minority governments. He stated; «We support the cause of the Palestinian Liberation Organization. The Afro-Arab summit conference in Cairo was complete success and will no

am making to the People's Republic of China is an undeniable proof of our desire to maintain and further strengthen the relations which exist between our two countries», he declared. On the development of the national economy of Somalia, Comrade Ismail emphasised that economic plan should give first priority to economic production, and above all the expansion of agricultural production and light and medium sized industrialization process in order to reach self-sufficiency in food production by 1980. «However,

our common efforts will still be in vain if we do not become conscious of the duty of relying first of all on ourselves, our own strength and our own resources» he concluded.

Hua Kuo-Feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China met on the 22nd of June with Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor, Vice-President of the Somali Democratic Republic, and the Somali delegation he was leading. Jaalle Ismail conveyed president Mohamed Siad Barre's regard to Chairman Hua and the Chinese people and Government. Chairman Hua expressed thanks and requested Vice-president Jaalle Ismail to convey the regards of the Chinese Government and people and his own

regards to President Siad and Somali Government and people.

Before winding up his stay in the People's Republic of China, Vice-president Ismail Ali Abokor visited among other places a people's commune on the outskirts of Shanghai. The Tangwan people's commune has a large population on a relatively small area. The natural conditions are poor. Inspired by Chairman Maos call «in agriculture, learn from Tachai», the commune members have demonstrated hard work and self-reliance efforts, which resulted a steady increase in grain production. The distinguished guests were shown round the paddy rice and cotton fields with a full stand of sturdy and luxuriant crops.

Later The Somali delegation led by Jaalle Ismail left for Pyongyang on a four days visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Speaking at a banquet given in his honour by the Korean Vice-President Comrade Kim Dong Dyu, Jaalle Ismail spoke about the friendly relations existing between the two countries, their struggle for rapid development and their opposition to colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. «though our two countries are geographically far apart, we are bound by strong ties of friendship and cooperation which has been enhanced by the S.D.R president's 1972 visit to Korea», declared the Vice-president.

14th O.A.U. SUMMIT CONFERENCE

The heads of state and governments from 48 African countries wound up recently 14th summit meeting of the O.A.U. and passed a number of resolutions. The summit conference held in Libreville, Gabon from 2nd to 5th July went on as anticipated by its participants. Major items on the agenda included the liberation of southern Africa and the interference of Africa's domestic affairs by foreign powers.

Among the Organisation members this year was the newly born republic of Jibuti, which before the 27th of June was under French colonialism and which today exists as the 49th independent and sovereign state of Africa in the O.A.U. list

of independent countries. In this jubilant and happy occasion of welcoming Jibuti to the O.A.U. the Organization has every right and privilege to boast in freeing another brother country from colonialism in the name of freedom and self-determination.

The resolutions passed in the Libreville OAU summit meeting included one providing for the recognition and promotion of the Rhodesian «patriotic front» as the sole liberation movement in Zimbabwe. Three ad hoc committees have been formed to settle the conflicts between Chad and Libya, between Sudan and Ethiopia and between Somalia and Ethiopia. As far as sanctions against Sout

Africa and Rhodesia are concerned, the delegates decided to send a six nation mission to all oil producing countries with the view to persuade them to halt oil shipments destined for the white minority regimes. A Nigerian proposition of setting up a committee of seven nations to examine conflicts in the continent as they arise was adopted. The body which is to replace the ineffective O.A.U. Arbitrary committee will consist of Gabon, Tunisia, Zaire, Nigeria, Zambia, Togo and Malagasy.

However, the O.A.U. which was founded and put into action by free Africa for the welfare and harmony of the continent is still faced with the noble duty of clearing the last and

decisive strong-holds of colonialism and oppression in the southern part of the continent, but Africa can only nominally support the struggles of its colonised people but can not guarantee freedom for them.

It is worth noting with regret that most of free African countries are not practically enjoying the essential meanings of freedom both economically and politically. Africa's economic independence has been undermined and cunningly brought to its knees by the neo-colonial policy of imperialism. As a home of the under developed countries Africa is sharply lag-

ging behind in industrial advancement. But still, despite age-long and unfair neo-colonial exploitation, Africa can stand on its feet due to its affluent natural resources and virgin soil which only need to be put to meticulous property if utilized so as to meet development requirements. Another factor which until now situates Africa in particular and Asia and Latin America in general in a state of underdevelopment is the out-of date imperialist economic order which siphons away the wealth of the resources of the world into Europe and America through sinister

transactions and bussiness formalities.

The Organization of Africa unity which represents and speaks for Africa is entitled, therefore, to strengthen first and foremost the economical and political unity of Africa and upon achieving this cultivate appropriate measures to overcome the imperialists economical blunder to the third world.

The O.A.U. 15th summit next year will be held in khartum next year.

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The anniversary demonstrations have been underway for some-time. Youths hurled stones and damaged cars, lorries and buses in Soweto town. The racist authority counted 10 violent incidents as the township of Soweto prepared to mark the anniversary ry. More than 3,000 students from Orlando and other schools boycotted classes in protest against the arrest of the 20 militant student leaders. Police reinforcements were also despatched to Pretoria, black township Mamelodi where blacks stoned buses and cars belonging to civil servants employed by the Bantu administration board. The sorrowful students in the ensuing demonstration and workers in

the factories and other major economic enterprises abandoned their work to join the mammoth demonstration that shook the racist regime.

The memory of Soweto will always live in the minds of all those who refuse to be reconciliated led with the abomination of racism and apartheid.

The once oppressed peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Mozambique, Guinea-bissau, Angola and many others have managed to the detriment of colonialism and oppression to blow up the lid and emerge as free people; why not the indigenous African

majority in South Africa?

With the progressive forces of the world on their side coupled with their genuine and just determination for self-government and self-emancipation the minority regime in south Africa has its days numbered.

The Somali Democratic Republic together with all progressive states will spare no effort in assisting the African people and liberation movements in realizing their aspirations of true liberty, equality and peace. It is beyond doubt that, no matter how long it takes, the oppressed African majority in that country will eventually emerge victorious.



THEORETICAL ISSUES

Selection, Preparation and Distribution of cadres

By Yusuf Suleman

The history of the international revolutionary movement and the concrete experience of the socialist countries prove that victory depends, a great deal, on the leadership and the level of their political consciousness. The same conditions prevailing, it happens that the results become different or even contradictory in two similar cases which is a manifestation of the varied capabilities of those responsible for it and instruments and method used.

On taking the power, every class singles out from its ranks the ablest and most experienced members on the phenomenon of life, in order to lead this class and what it stands for, to success and prosperity. Political leaders, to realise the desired development for the people should have a good knowledge of the laws of social development, without which victory is impossible. On the other hand, the political leadership fails, when it neglects the interests of the working masses, following its own personal and private ends. It is at the time of the struggle for the socialist revolution that revolutionaries prove their political capability and experience in realising the expectations of the workers. In addition this difficult and protracted struggle raises their consciousness and political maturity.

The petty bourgeois parties have the wrong conviction and believe that a socialist revolution can take place only when the following is accomplished.

A) Workers increase in number tremendously,

B) High level of education of the workers reached, hence, acquiring highly educated individuals who can lead the people.

No doubt the workers don't have, and sure they can't have, trained personnel which could undertake the leadership, organization & economic administration, before they take power. This is an objective result from deliberate and calculated intention of capitalism, feudalism and colonialism to keep the workers uneducated, hungry and sick.

Nevertheless, all that mentioned above cannot stop the socialist revolution from taking place as the petty-bourgeoisie claims, but on the contrary, it is the revolution that prepares cadres from the working class. As is gathered from the experience of the socialist states, the socialist revolution gives first priority, to the creation and training of national functionaries and the defense of the country. In the

meantime Since, there is not enough cadres to satisfy the needs of the country, the capitalist oriented experts and professionals are relied on with the inspection of the Party, social organisations and the public, while at the same time the training and raising of the educational standard, of the cadres is going on through schools of various levels. In this objective as well, debates and symposiums should be initiated in order to bring about the cultural transformation needed.

The following are the general laws which serve as the basis of choosing cadres:-

- 1) Leaders and functionaries of the Party should be equipped with high political consciousness.
- 2) The standard of their knowledge on scientific socialism should be considered.
- 3) Their readiness to observe the interests of the workers,
- 4) Their level of education,
- 5) Their relationship with the masses.
- 6) Their participation in works beneficial for the society.

7) Their patriotic and internationalist sentiment.

In addition to these, the moral of the persons chosen as a party or government functionary should be considered. A person entrusted with the responsibility of the people, its property and future, should be a reliable and honest person who is liberated from corruption, nepotism and tribalism. Political consciousness and socialist morals are incompatible with hypocrisy, lack of commitment, lust for power and capitalist tendencies. And only after the cadres emancipate themselves from the above evils, can the ills inherited from the exploitative systems be eradicated.

Any party functionary who uses his membership as an instrument of bullying the people, thereby damaging the party's stand among the masses, should be dealt with accordingly, even to the extent of expulsion. The revolution won't hesitate to punish those who stand in the way and try to obstruct the development of the country even if they are of high capability and specialisation.

It is not only the socialist states that follow the norms of selection for the functionaries, but also the progressive developing countries who opted for the scientific socialist path. In the course of selection, the person's political consciousness, morals and his academic speciality should be strictly observed.

As written by V.I. Lenin «In order to realise victories the leader should be equipped with a good knowledge on the organisation of production,

instruments of production and should at the same time possess a satisfactory academic knowledge».

Party and national functionaries should possess the following characteristics:-

- A) Ability to organize.
- B) Ability to follow the desired directives and goals.
- C) Sense of work improvement.
- D) Sense of innovation, completion of started tasks and execution of duties.
- F) To extend to themselves, the norms they expect from other workmates. Without the fulfillment of the above characteristics, success is remote.

The leadership should not limit itself to the administrative activities only, but should involve itself to the bringing up of the right people and into work executions which in turn will result in the increase of production & maturing on the part of the people. Therefore the most effective way of producing the desired cadres is organisation and working together of the old administrators and the new ones in order to fit together the experiences of the old and the activeness and revolutionary spirit of the young cadres.

Vanguard organs of the Party of the New Type are required to possess strict norms. They should be characterised with principle and strict discipline and should have wide knowledge on scientific soci-

alism, their job and the organisation of the public affairs.

There is no doubt about the wide experience & strong capability of the cadres who were in the struggle for long. Hence if these cadres reach the age of retirement, while they still want to continue, there is no need to change them. Such old cadres should be replaced gradually with new ones. These new cadres, though not possessing the above characteristics, yet have their own constructive traits as: a strong believe that the future is theirs, lust and spirit for new innovations, constant development of their knowledge and the rapid maturation of their experiences. For that reason, the Party won't hesitate to appoint young administrators in order to combine together the dynamism of youth and the rich experience of the old cadres.

In order to name a new administrator the following points should be observed:-

- A) His experience on the work.
- B) His political orientation and consciousness.
- C) His knowledge on the instruments of production, particularly the kind of work he is to be assigned to.
- D) Is he of a strong principle?

As was repeatedly emphasised by Karl Marx and Engels, if in the revolutionary struggle of the working class, people of other classes take part, they should first and foremost of all learn, understand and believe unconditionally in the proletarian cause, so as to avoid to re-

peat what was inherited from the capitalists and the petty-bourgeoisie. If this is overlooked, the revolutionary movements and their new parties will suffer serious setbacks which will damage their struggle and objectives.

When the revolutionary struggle accomplishes concrete achievements and becomes an undeniable reality, there appear many people who don't believe in scientific socialism and lack the necessary experience of class struggle, but who by the virtue of their academic knowledge, usurp posts of leadership both in the party and the revolutionary government.

Every organ, considering the concrete and objective conditions prevailing, should lay the greater emphasis on the places, which can produce both qualitative and quantitative development of the country and should like wise strengthen the concerned cadres. Hence, special care should be given on the selection and distribution of the cadres in order to achieve success.

Parties of the new type value much on appointing women on higher posts so long equality of men and women is an important principle in socialism, which lays basis for the availability of equal chances for both sexes in order to utilise their abilities in all fields. In addition, equal importance is given on appointing for the higher posts the most dynamic and capable members of the working class. It was comrade V.I. Lenin himself who emphasised that strong ability to organize and collective workmanship could be found among the working class as conditioned to them by their disciplined work routine.

The leading role of functionaries from the working masses and peasants is one without which no success is conceivable. It is only the Party organizations and its leading bodies that can undertake the election, nomination, and expulsion of a Party functionaries. However, in the nomination, election and expulsion of the leadership of the Government and Social Organizations, the Party has only an indirect influence through advice, and employing its instrument of persuasion. If at all the party deems necessary the change of any of the leaders of the government it doesn't do so in direct orders, but presents reports and advice whose main objective is to effect the need to change such concerned personalities and replace them with more reliable persons.

It is natural that people in the socialist countries entrust most crucial posts to the best and most dynamic members of the Party. Party members are people who:-

A) Sacrificed themselves for the building of socialism.

B) All their efforts and abilities combined with faith and honesty are to the well being and anything of interest for the workers.

Contrary to the baseless propaganda of the capitalists that the Party functionaries enjoy special privileges, the Party members are burdened with special responsibilities on everything and the readiness for every difficult task at all times. By that, they earn good reputation and a respectable position among the public.

Some of the methods of study-

ing the cadres:-

A) To study with special care the documents concerning the cadre.

B) Have regular meetings with the cadre.

C) Look seriously into the reports written from him by those who know him through work.

Other methods of studying the cadres include appointing a committee to look into their political consciousness, their moral and their work capabilities, which consequently results in the proper and right assignment of everybody on the appropriate Post.

This constant studying of the cadres help in creating reserve Party functionaries respected on the quality of the work and political activity they have accomplished and meant to fill in positions of leadership. They are mostly people in the second posts of leadership, the most dynamic cadre of the social organizations and the heroes of production.

In order to avoid subjective decision parties of the New Type have their own methods of nomination and expulsion in the Party organs.

The distribution and work assignment of the nominated is undertaken by the concerned committee, which usually consists of the heads of the Party Government and institutions of economy, science and education. Likewise, the government and worker's organizations follow the same policy of nomination.

Cells, being the base of the Party, must be the source of nominati-

on and change. It is the duty of the cells to contact any head figure whom they feel is not following the party line, exposing his mistakes and as well directing him.

Socialist planning should not be limited only to the solution of the present and day-to-day problems, but should be extended to the prediction with precision of what is to happen in the future. Consequently the preparation and maturing of the cadre should be well thought of a long time planned programme.

What parts and points should be included in this programme?

i) - Analysis on the situation of the cadre preparation and their distribution to the most crucial posts.

ii) - Setting their curriculum for both technical and political aspects, and to take special steps on their sound preparation, in raising their knowledge, ensuring the political orientation and work ability.

iii) To decide on what is required of a cadre with a university level of knowledge or a high technician. B).

iv) - To send cadres to the universities and high technical institutes and divide them on the basis of the existing need.

v) - Steps should be taken towards raising the academic level of the functionaries who have already acquired university or high institute level of education.

vi) Measures should be taken on creating cadres from the women.

vii) To decide on the approximate number of cadres needed in the near future.

Such a programme could only be beneficial if it is constantly followed during the work executions in accordance with the Party norms on politics, economy and culture. For that reason cadre preparation should conform to these norms.

In the developing countries this task of cadre preparation is not an easy job. Consequently it was a constant duty of the revolution led by Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre to create a national cadre. To ensure the success of this cadre creating campaigns, political seminars, debates, and ideological lessons were undertaken in all over the country.

In addition, historical experience of the socialist countries were repeated by propaganda on the mass media. Moreover, it is compulsory to organize seminars through which all government workers should pass. In these seminars, matters concerning production were discussed.

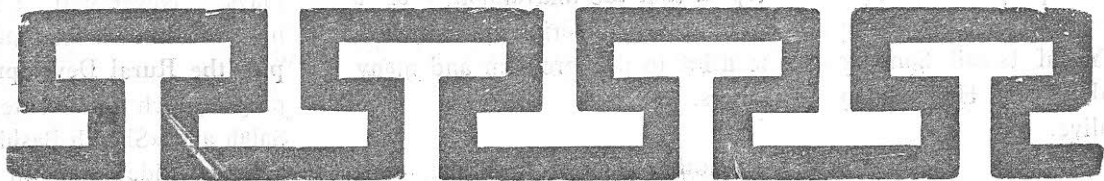
It is the belief of the Party that intellectuals can do a lot on the social and economic transformation of the country towards development and in raising the political consciousness of the working class. This was well demonstrated on 16th of Dec. 1976, when the Secretary General of Somali Revolutionary Party opened a general meeting for the intellectuals at the People's House. These Somali intellectual who included economists, engineers, doctors etc, issued suggestions and advice on the best way of implementing the resolution of the first Congress of 4th November to 5th December 1975.

Lenin's laws of cadre preparation are fulfilled only by those states who opted for the scientific socialist path of development.

A) Preparing cadres who are politically matured and possessin the right principle for building socialism.

B) Evaluation of administrators giving them favourable conditions for the implimentation of their tasks, and strengthenig their discipline.

C) To nominate for the higher posts those who show political maturity, signs of leadership and ability to absorb the existing scientific and historcal experience.



Art and Culture



THE POLITICAL THEATRE

By BOBE

This is an attempt to make a critical reflection of the sound criticism of the play «Movement» by Comrade Afrah which appeared in the June issue of Halgan. I believe it is necessary to form this habit of criticism in order to have varieties of approach and acquire a wider understanding of theatrical works.

The limitation of plays like «Movement» to the Revolutionary era and their appearance during festivals made Afrah invent «Orientative theatre» instead of Political theatre, in this context the play «Movement». I am convinced that Political Theatre was in existence long before the Revolution. Moreover, among the two types of theatre we have in our country — Banadir and Herer — the latter sprouted from politics.

It was a conscious group of teachers who formed the basis of theatre in Hargeisa (North West Region) during its emergence. Through the Arabic language they explained to the people the advantages of education. Among them is the later Yusuf Ismail Samater (Gandhi) and Yusuf Haji Adan who is still alive.

A general description of theatre during those days (1945) calls our attention to cite an example.

«Al-Abbul-Jaahil» or the «Illiterate Father» is a good example among the early varieties of plays staged. This play was about two elders who had different outlook. One of them took his child to school while the other didn't. The one who went to school and then went abroad for further education, employed the other one as a house-boy after graduation. «The Illiterate Father» was composed by Yusuf Haji Adan and it was staged in Arabic.

It is surprising if we contrast how 32 years back theatre was utilized and its stage of development today. I assume progress, however limited it is in content has been made in theatre, yet aspects on discussion about Theatre today are futile. Political plays are often approached, hence vulgarized by generalizing history as was already mentioned by Afrah. This has been made possible by the absence of genuine documents of past events accordingly for our composers to make the right works. On top of that the unavailability of a written Somali script did contribute a lot to this problem and many others.

Another standing problem, which has always affected our plays, particularly the political ones is the very limited knowledge of the

art of theatre. As already mentioned by Comrade Afrah dis-organization is one of the most serious shortcomings in our drama. One is forced to be a poet in order to become a play writer. Rhetoric has no place in plays.

Another problem I have observed is the lack of professionalism in our theatre. In our plays, especially the political ones the form, content, style and insight became cheap as soon as material interest became the motive behind everything. Among the various branches of our theatre, cheap romanticism has been given emphasis. Consequently our society is ready to watch romantic plays however hollow and cheap they may be. It is only when agencies or organisations give expenses that political plays are staged and only to invited guests since the majority of the masses are disinterested. There are many campaigns carried out since the Revolution and among them how many have been composed into plays. Never will I forget «the light of knowledge» staged to depict the Rural Development Campaign which was written by Said Salah and «Sheikh Bashir», Ahmed Seliman Bide's play in which the «ONKOD» group staged in «BAN-FAS 76» play competition.



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On the Occasion of the celebrations for the Independence and Unity of the Somali people, we commemerate our National Hero Sayid Mahamed Abdulla Hassan.